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THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW.

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YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE

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THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

No. 1.—JANUARY—1906.

I.

MODERN PEDAGOGY AND THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

BY PROFESSOR W. W. DEATRICK, SC.D.

In a living language, in course of time, words often change, both as to meaning and as to reputation. The meaning of a word may become more or less extensive and the reputation become more or less creditable. What is slang of the street in one generation may, in another, become the language of cultivated society, or, *vice versa,* a word of dignified origin may fall from its place and become disreputable.

The word pedagog had an humble origin. Coming to us from the Greek, it denoted, originally, the slave who, in a wealthy family, in Greek and Roman times, attended the child of the rich man, taking the boy to and from the school or the theater, or accompanying him and watching over him on his outings. Because these pedagogs sometimes served as teachers as well as mere attendants of the youths, the word came to mean also a teacher and, in our English tongue, came to be a synonym, more or less slightingly applied, for a teacher of children. Then, at least from the time of Goldsmith, it was used as a designation for the instructor of youth "who by teaching has become formal, positive, or pedantic in his

ways" (*Webster's International Dictionary*). For the most part, in recent years, the word has been "generally used disparagingly and to indicate a conceited, narrow-minded teacher" (*Standard Dictionary*).

Quite lately a rehabilitation of this word of humble origin appears to be taking place. While many object to pedagog and pedagogy for teacher and teaching, the professional educator of to-day need not be sensitive to any implied taunt when he is called a pedagog and his science spoken of as pedagogy. For the word pedagogy, never having had, in use, the unpleasant associations and suggestiveness of the word from which it is derived, is now in such repute, has such accepted standing, that pedagog is coming less and less to have taint of disrepute or inferiority. As the early followers of the Great Teacher were called Christians in derision, according to some accounts, yet bravely accepted the name, glorying in it, so may the faithful teacher to-day rejoice in the designation of pedagog—leader of a boy. What nobler occupation, indeed, can there be than this of being the leader of children into their inheritance!

Pedagogy is the work or occupation of a pedagog. It is the "science that treats of the principles and art of teaching as a profession; the theory of education and its application in order to secure the best results in instruction and training" (*Standard Dictionary*). As hinted at above, some object to the term, preferring the word education, or didactics, or limiting the meaning of pedagogy to mere instruction. But the word is coming to be more and more accepted as, in the best and fullest sense, including the knowledge, discussion, and application of the principles and art of educating the undeveloped human being. Pedagogy is the leading the child into his inheritance, is the bringing him to a realization of what is aimed at in his education.

Attempts to define the nature and aim or ends of education have been various, almost legion. Lowest of all is the "bread-and-butter" aim. To probably the majority of parents who

think about the matter at all, this thought of educating the child to help himself along in the world is the main or only one. Acquisition of knowledge, intellectual development of the child, has been posited as the aim by some. Others regard culture, sometimes rather vaguely defined or conceived, as the *summum bonum* in education. "Harmonious development of all the powers and faculties of the child" is an aim which has a specious sound but to which, as Dr. William Chandler Bagley, in his recent suggestive book on "The Educative Process," has shown, many serious objections may be offered. Other theories are: the development of the capacity for enjoyment, the adjustment of the individual to his environment, and the development of moral character. All of these have something to commend them and all are open to more or less of objection. Probably the best statement is that of the above-mentioned author who posits, with forceful argument, as the ultimate aim of education "the development of the socially efficient individual." The child, we may say, is to be adjusted by educational processes to his environment in such way that, to the highest degree possible, he may render service to his fellows in his day and generation.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, in "The Meaning of Education," defines education to be "a gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race." The twentieth-century child is, to use the phrase of Tennyson, "heir of all the ages." The "spiritual possessions" to which the child is heir are fivefold, according to Butler, and his enumeration can not well be improved upon. They include: (1) the scientific inheritance, (2) the literary inheritance, (3) the esthetic inheritance, (4) the institutional or politico-social inheritance, and (5) the religious inheritance. To all five of these Doctor Butler asserts, and we shall not dispute his assertion, the child is entitled.

Modern pedagogy, then, I think, may be defined as the science of the principles and art of leading the child, by the most approved methods discovered by the clearest thinkers about education and the most successful practitioners of the

art of teaching, from his condition when first education may be operative for him, at birth or earlier, into these "spiritual possessions of the race," and that to the fullest measure which his endowment will allow.

Our theme is "Modern Pedagogy and the Christian Ministry." In former times all education in Christian lands was in the hands of the clergy. Until comparatively recently, even in our own country, the parochial elementary school was almost the only school available for the younger children. The schoolhouse stood hard by the church and, at times, the teacher was the pastor himself. After the parochial school ceased to exist generally, or the children had been transferred to the public day school, secondary and higher education yet remained almost exclusively in the hands of the clergy. In time the state established high schools and normal schools. Then the academies, most of which had been under control of the churches or managed and taught by clergymen, found their occupation largely or entirely gone. Secular colleges and state universities have now for a considerable time competed effectively with denominational institutions of higher learning while lately even in colleges and universities founded by religious bodies and officered and taught by ministers of the gospel the tendency has been to eliminate church influence from both the management and the instruction. In not a few instances laymen have succeeded clergymen in the presidency of such institutions. Not long ago the public prints announced the election of Payson Merrill, Esq., a prominent lawyer of New York, to succeed the late Rev. Dr. Theodore T. Munger as a member of the Yale University Corporation. Mr. Merrill is the first layman elected a permanent member of the corporation, and his election to Doctor Munger's place, as was noted in the newspaper that published the item, destroys the historical control of Yale by clergymen. The instance is mentioned as being illustrative of present-day tendencies. It does not follow, of course, that such greater admission of laymen to prerogatives formerly exercised solely by ministers is wrong,

or even injurious. It is, however, a fact that, although the teaching function is one of the highest functions of the church and of the individual clergyman, yet, somehow, the church and the minister have been losing their grip on the education of the child. In many cases all is gone now except the preaching, which, for the most part, appeals little to childhood, the catechetical class, and the Sunday-school, these having to do exclusively with that phase of education which consists in leading the child into his religious inheritance.

Deprived of the opportunity of leading the child into the first four fields of inheritance and confined to this one, the Christian minister should be the more desirous to do in the most efficient way the teaching work that remains to him. And what remains is the most important of all, for the child's religious inheritance is the most precious, the most important of the five, the one in relation to which, and in preparation for which, the other four find their highest and fullest, indeed their only true significance. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" George Albert Coe ("Education in Religion and Morals," p. 25) is but uttering a paraphrase of the words of the Great Teacher when he says: "Education may be looked upon as a special factor in the universal process of relating living beings to their world, and religious education as the most universal or far-reaching part thereof. . . . In religious education organized man provides for a progressive adaptation of the race to its divine environment."

How shall the Christian ministry conduct this religious education? Is the leading of the child into his religious inheritance to be done similarly to or differently from the leading of him into his scientific, literary, esthetic, and institutional inheritances? To these questions the answer must be made that, as the four find their highest significance and ultimate aim in the fifth, the process must be essentially the same in all: the religious educator must follow the methods of modern pedagogy so far as these methods are correct and rational.

Are modern pedagogs unanimous in their choice of methods; has modern pedagogy established incontrovertible principles; is the practice of modern teachers uniform? Very unfortunately, to these questions we must answer, No. As to principles there is, it must be confessed, among modern educationists, no little uncertainty and controversy, while as for methods these are as multitudinous as "leaves that strew the vales of Vallambrosa." Many of these methods are empirical, many of them temporary experiments, fads of the period or the season. Is there no test of methods? Must each be tried that the teacher may know which of many is to be approved as efficient to the end in view? If test of each principle or experiment of each method be necessary, the Christian minister is in as bad a way as his lay brother. There must be some norm by which to gage the principles loudly proclaimed by reformers and the methods zealously practiced by devotees of the new education.

If there be such a norm, where are we to find it? Doubtless, the best answer is: in knowledge of the mind to be educated. Psychology, the science of the human mind, must determine which asserted principles of pedagogy are sound, which proposed methods of teaching are correct. Here, however, the difficulty is almost as great as in case of pedagogy. For psychology is not a settled science. Psychologies and psychologists differ quite as much as books and writers on education. The divergence of views is, indeed, so wide that one or more eminent psychologists have asserted that knowledge of psychology is well nigh worthless to the practical teacher. Certainly, there are many successful teachers who cannot give psychological reasons for their procedure. Nevertheless, it is to be maintained, I hold, that knowledge of correct psychology is most important in determining the practice of the pedagog. The question, then, rises how are we to determine which psychology, which theory of mind and its operations, is correct? There must be some ultimate authority. What is it?

To these questions we have an answer. That answer has

been formulated, most tersely and epigrammatically, by that eminent educator of the Roman Catholic Church, J. L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, in his very helpful little book, "Things of the Mind." He states the answer thus: "Biology interprets the problems of psychology, and psychology provides methods for pedagogy."

Biology is the science of life, of the minute structure and modes of functioning of living organisms. Man—the child—is a psychophysical organism. As Coe phrases it: "A human being is neither a lump of matter, nor a ghost, nor one of these plus the other."* Man is body and soul. Concerning the relation of the two we may speculate and philosophize, but we do not know how they are interrelated, nor are we likely ever to learn or know. This much only do we know, and with assurance, that, in this life, in the present order of things, it is impossible to study or know the phenomena of mind or soul except as these phenomena are manifested through or in the body, with which the soul lives and through which it works. Mind and body are, in the present life, conjoined in one person or individual. The two are, somehow, so related that they are constantly acting and reacting upon each other. Though we believe that the two are totally distinct, they are yet, in this life, so far as we have any proof, inseparable: one cannot, or at least does not, act without the other. The study of the minute structure and functionings of the body, particularly that most noble part of our corporeal frame, the nervous system, belongs to biology. Studies in recent years have given us an entirely new conception of the structure, functions, and development of the human nervous system. Into details of these I cannot go. Suffice it here to say that the dream of a Christian physician of Scotland, Sir Charles Bell, has been realized after nearly one hundred years.

In the time of Bell almost nothing was known minutely of the human brain and nerves. But Bell, considering the matter, arrived at the conclusion that, first, the all-wise Creator

* "Education in Religion and Morals," p. 100.

has made nothing useless or of unnecessary complexity; and, second, that the mystery of the brain, with all its apparently unresolvable complexity could be resolved by patient, reverent study. Now we know, as we did not know even ten or fifteen years ago, how the brain is built, how it grows, and how it functions. This organ of the soul is seen to be the marvelous, the most complicated, and yet the most wonderfully adapted to its purposes, of material things that, in all the universe known to us, have come from the Creator's hand. Of all men, so it seems to me, the clergyman to-day should be deeply interested in the recent revelations of biology in reference to this wonderful organism, an organism so intimately connected with the soul with which the minister is so deeply concerned. The clergy of the Reformed Church, particularly, should be interested because the psychology of the present, related so closely to biology, studied from the biological standpoint, is essentially that of the great Rauch of early days at Mercersburg. His "Psychology and Anthropology" of that early time was the forerunner of the biological, physiological psychology of to-day.

Very fanciful and unreal systems of mind-science have been built up *a priori,* by introspection and deduction, without proper regard to data furnished by experiment and by the study of the lately developed science of biology. Biology is not, of course, to be considered as more important than psychology but its revelations should serve, and must serve, as the check to fanciful theorizing about mind. This much is sure, whatever may be the limitations of biology,—that practice of pedagogy, that statement of psychology or philosophy, or even of theology, which is at variance with established facts of biology, of the structure, functioning and development of the human brain must be abandoned as false, just as facts disclosed by the expeditions of the geographer or discovered by the researches of the geologist have compelled revision of statements on the part of the theologian. The teacher, especially the Christian teacher, should welcome, thankfully, the revelations of biology; he should be, of all men, the most devoted

student of this newest science, the very handmaid of pedagogy and theology.

What light has biology to cast on the problem before us? How does "biology interpret the problems of psychology" that psychology may furnish only correct methods for pedagogy?

To essay to answer these questions fully would carry me beyond all reasonable limits for this paper. Some things only may be treated in somewhat of detail; much must necessarily be passed without mention or without more than simple enumeration. We must keep in mind, furthermore, that the first stage in the elaboration of a science is collection and proof of facts. Later comes interpretation of established facts. In the study of brain as the organ of mind we have barely passed the first stage. Some facts, such as the functions of the so-called "silent areas" or "association-centers" of Flechsig,* —a discovery of stupendous importance suggestively—have been established only recently. Students of mind and body have been so overwhelmed with the richness of the finds that they have not been able to market their treasures; discoveries have crowded so rapidly that scholars have hesitated to formulate, in print at least, the pedagogical applications of many of these discoveries. Ten years ago James Mark Baldwin published "Mental Development in the Child and in the Race," and promised as a sequel a volume on "Pedagogical Applications," but, though two other volumes have since appeared from his pen, this one, most anxiously awaited by educators, is yet withheld. Of volumes, such as Wundt's "Principles of Physiological Psychology," concerned mainly with stating the facts of the science, edition follows edition, and revision succeeds revision with a rapidity that disconcerts the student. This does not mean, as some might suppose, that these revelations of biology are uncertain or contradictory. It is simply

* Baker, "The Nervous System," p. 1071; E. A. Schäfer, "Text-Book of Physiology," vol. 2, p. 770; Deatrick, "Physical Basis of Mind," pp. 102–104.

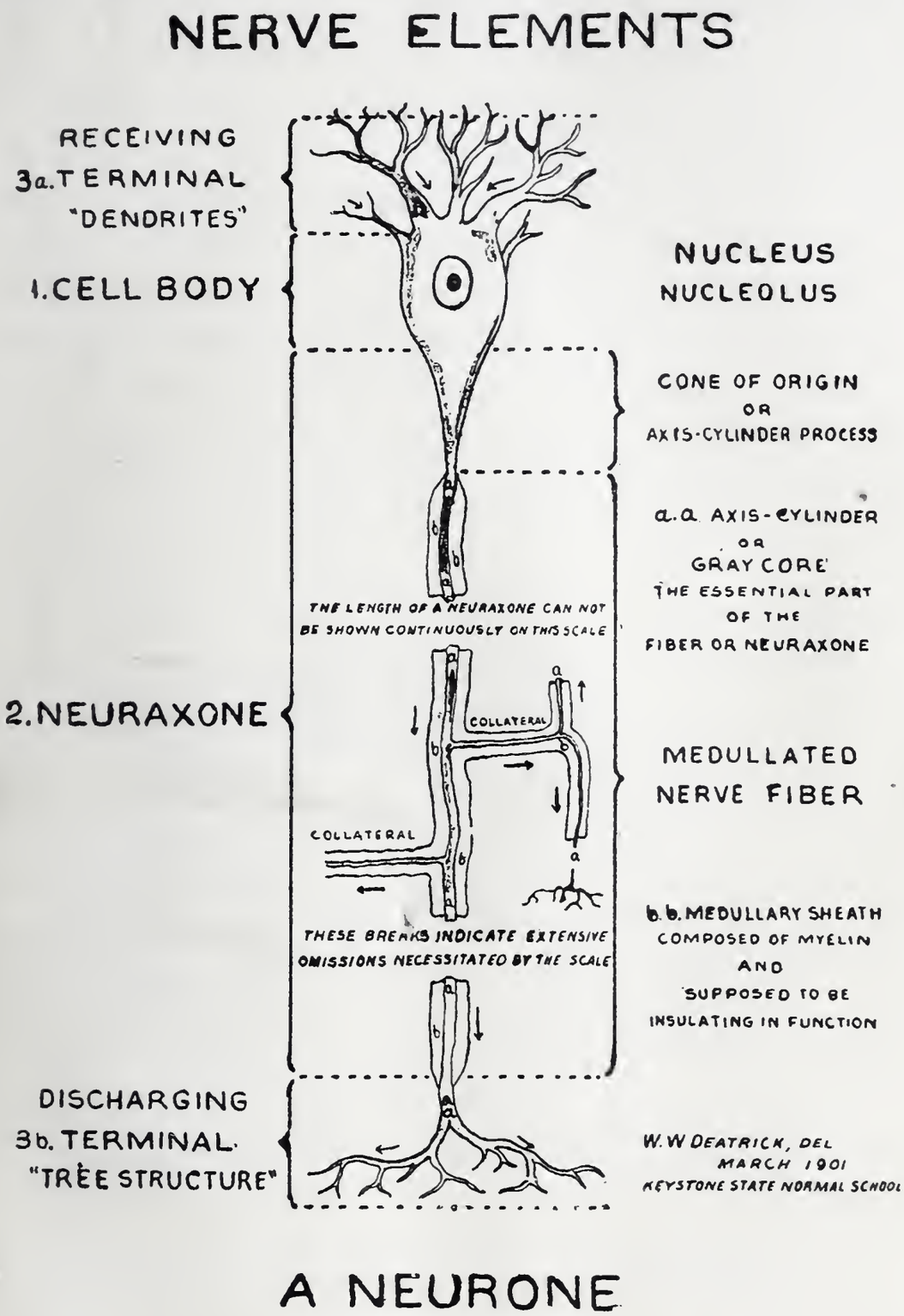
evidence of advance made necessary by discovery succeeding discovery at such a rate that it is hardly possible to keep pace with the advance. Yet some things have been firmly established and in respect to these there is little likelihood of further change of knowledge or opinion.

Pedagogy, as above defined, is the leading of the child into his inheritance—in case of the religious teacher, the leading of the child into his religious inheritance. What, how much, and how does a child inherit? Biologists, as many of you may know, have contended over the problems of heredity, especially over the one concerning the possibility of "use-inheritance" as it is called. By "use-inheritance" is meant inheritance of characteristics or experience acquired by ancestors. It is now generally conceded that there is no "use-inheritance," no transmission of acquired characteristics,—at least in all lower forms of life. Whether this be true of these lower forms, and whether or not man is an exception to the law operative in infra-human beings, matters, after all, very little. In either case it is possible to lead the child into his inheritance without the presupposition of "use-inheritance." For the child is an educable animal, the most educable of animals, if you prefer that mode of statement. It is by education that he is, at least for the most part, to come into possession of his inheritance. It is the prerogative of man, by education rather than by heredity, during the period of prolonged infancy, the significance of which was first clearly showed by John Fiske* "to transmit to his offspring acquired characteristics."

There is a theory of individual development, lately much emphasized, which, properly understood and applied in education, is most helpful,—at least may be very suggestive—to the teacher, and to the Christian minister interested in pedagogical problems. I refer to the theory of "recapitulation," or, as it

* John Fiske, "Excursions of an Evolutionist," pp. 306–320; "Darwinism and Other Essays," p. 44.

is sometimes called, the "culture-epochs theory." The theory, in brief, is this: the child comes into the world having inherited none, or but little, of the race experience. School and teacher and educative processes must lead the child over the

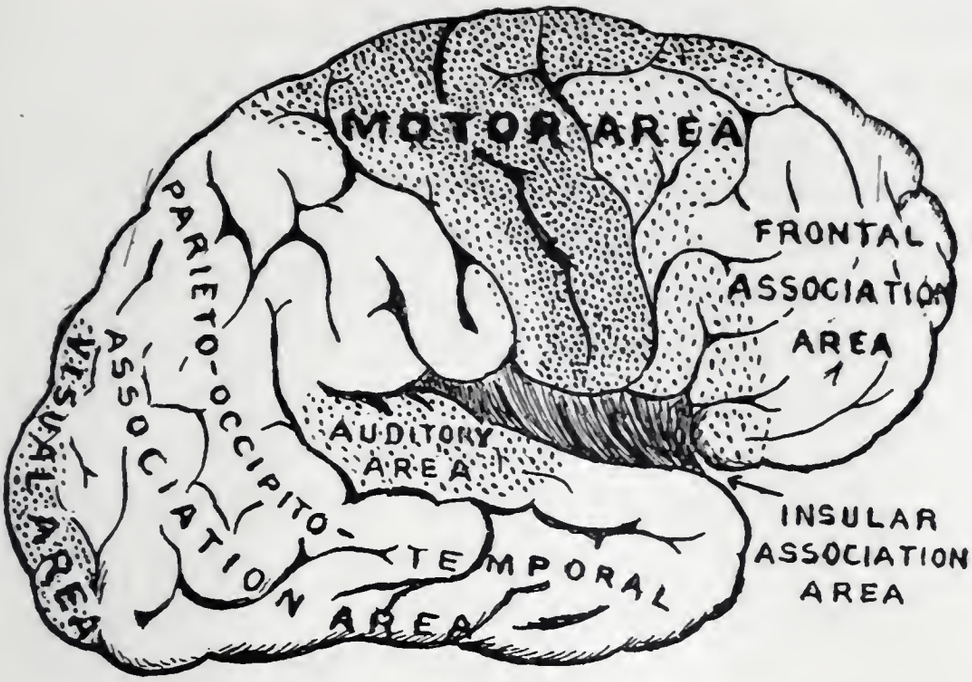


A NEURONE. (From "Physical Basis of Mind.")

NOTE.—The entire nervous system of man is composed of separate elements known as neurones, probably numbering as many as thirteen billions.

course pursued by his ancestors, by numerous "short cuts" necessarily, into his inheritance, into the possession of that experience which has been accumulated during past ages, an inheritance which has not been and can not be transmitted to him by physical birth,—into that inheritance of "spiritual possessions" which is his right and which he must possess to be the socially efficient man, properly adjusted to his divine environment, that he should be.

The treatment, at any length, of this single phase of pedagogical theory would itself occupy far more than the time available. Some of the implications of the theory may, however, receive brief consideration. First of these we may name the modern pedagogical, biological doctrine of "nascent periods." Not all parts of the child's brain develop and function at the same time. Different areas develop at different periods, and the rate of development varies at different times. Correspondingly different functions or activities of the soul develop also at different times and at different rates. At birth the human infant has almost no brains at all—no developed cerebrum, we mean. But as he grows, first one part of the cerebrum, or main brain, develops and then another. The human nervous system is composed of separate elements or units, called "neurones," the total number of these separate neurones being about thirteen billions, each as anatomically distinct from its neighbor as one tree in a forest is from other trees. At birth the majority of these neurones are like seeds that have not yet germinated. Before a neurone can be the efficient servant of the soul it must "sprout" a stem and branching terminals, and the stem must be encased in a tubular sheath of insulating fat, technically known as "myelin." The acquisition of this insulating sheath is known as "myelinization" or "medullation." By the sprouting and medullation of its constituent neurones the brain becomes organized. Quantity and quality of brain, number and kind of neurones, education cannot control or affect, but "organization"—sprouting and medullation of neurones—can be stimulated



RIGHT CEREBRAL HEMISPHERE
LATERAL SURFACE

LEFT CEREBRAL HEMISPHERE
MESIAL SURFACE

Diagram showing the "Silent Areas" or association centers of Flechsig. (From "Physical Basis of Mind.")

by educative processes; that is, if there is an undeveloped, well-stored brain to work upon.

A guinea pig's cerebrum is almost completely organized at birth; the guinea pig cannot be educated, at least but to a very limited degree. The brain of a white rat is, relatively, much less completely organized at birth than that of a guinea pig, and, consequently, the white rat is susceptible of a not inconsiderable amount of education. The like holds true of the human infant, only in a vastly greater degree.

The brain of a human being differs also from those of lower animals in the fact that the "silent areas," mentioned above, are relatively very much larger in the human brain than in the brains of the lower animals. In the human brain the silent areas occupy almost, or quite, two-thirds of the entire cortex of the cerebrum, while in very low animals the silent areas are very small. Besides this the neurones in the silent areas have been found to become myelinated far later in the development of the brain than are the neurones in the excitable areas. For these and other reasons, Flechsig thinks we are justified in calling these parts the "organs of thought."* A curious thing, that may be noted in passing, is that, by the use of a polarizing microscope it is now possible, when dissecting a brain, to distinguish between recently developed tracts and tracts which developed earlier in the growth of the individual: older neurones show yellow; newer ones have a distinctly redder color.†

"Nerve centers" are places in the nervous system where neurones meet neurones and where nerve force passes from one neurone to another. Nerve tracts are the stems of neurones which lead from one center to another. Centers are higher or lower. The highest centers and the highest tracts develop relatively late. This fact is of immense importance in education. A law to be kept in mind, in this connection, is that the "nascent period" of a brain area is the period of

* Deatrick, "Physical Basis of Mind," p. 103.

† Barker, "The Nervous System," p. 88.

opportunity. Maturity of development of a cerebral tract and greatest capacity for education of the activity of mind of which that tract is the organ are contemporaneous. Inopportune stimulation is harmful to both brain and mind. Premature stimulation produces deplorable precocity. Delayed stimulation is relatively ineffective. When proper stimulus or opportunity for exercise is not given to brain area or correlative mental function very often that saddest of all conditions, arrested development of brain and mind takes place.

Men said a few years ago that brains cease growing at twenty-five or thirty years of age, and what Doctor Osler has been reported, falsely it seems, as saying about the mental powers of old men, is known to you all. But this is not necessarily so. Growth and development of brain and mind may go on till late in life, till the fiftieth year and beyond, as has been demonstrated, if only there be no arrested development and if exercise and education proceed normally and steadily all the while. Indeed, it now seems probable that while life lasts in unimpaired vigor, medullation and organization of brain may go on and mind develop likewise with even pace.

But these nascent periods, these periods of opportunity, are relatively short. "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation." This is as true biologically and pedagogically as it is spiritually and religiously. Instincts and impulses in the child are transitory. This means much, or should mean much, to the teacher or Christian minister who is trying to lead the child into his inheritance. Children have numerous instincts, more than animals have—contrary to prevalent lay opinion. Among these instincts are those of curiosity, of imitation, of questioning, of collecting, of constructiveness, and others. These instincts appear, for the most part, suddenly; they possess the child for a longer or shorter time; they then fade away, especially if care be not taken to utilize them at the proper time. Dr. William James has well said: "To detect the moment of instinctive readiness for the subject

is, then, the first duty of every educator."* The moment of instinctive readiness is the proper pedagogic moment. But what blunderers we are! How we miss opportunity! What a field of study here for parent, for teacher, for Christian minister!

At the risk of neglecting consideration of other important contributions of modern pedagogy to the teaching work of the Christian ministry, it may be profitable, at this point, to give some practical illustrations of the observance or neglect of these facts. Bagley† says: "The child at different levels of his growth has different needs and capacities that must be catered to in different ways." How often the teacher or preacher forgets this or acts as if he did not know it. The transitory instincts of the child are not considered or utilized. The Great Teacher put the concrete before the abstract, and modern pedagogy does the same, at the time when the child's senses are developing, but Sunday-school teacher and preacher too often reverse the process or leave the concrete out altogether. Modern pedagagy seeks to utilize the self-activity of the child, holding that there is "no impression without expression; no reception without reaction"; but the religious teacher too often represses the activity of the child or at least affords little opportunity for spontaneous expression. In teaching the Sunday-school lesson or the catechism the child is treated as though he were a diminutive adult, which he is not. Of all absurdities the use of a shorter catechism in teaching religious truth to small children is most absurd, considered from the standpoint of modern pedagogy. And even for older children, a catechism with printed questions and answers, taught as it often is in the exercise known as "catechization," is a means of instruction worthy of the pedagogy of the days when these time-honored catechisms were written. Much of the religious instruction of children to-day is nothing else than feeding the lambs as though they were sheep. Modern pedagogy, to take

* "Psychology," vol. 2, p. 402.

† "The Educative Process," p. 201.

another instance, watches for and utilizes the instinct for adventure. This instinct often takes the form of delight in stories and in dramatization of the story or acting. Might it not be an excellent thing for the religious teacher also to utilize this instinct?

At the summer school recently conducted at Mount Gretna a professional teacher from Massachusetts* delivered a series of addresses on "The Art of Telling Stories to Children," giving demonstrations of her art to the little people of the settlement. Her remarkably successful and popular work not only convinced school teachers and parents of the propriety of utilizing the adventure-instinct but also set clerical hearers to thinking that the religious teacher might, very profitably, do the same in his work of leading the child into his religious inheritance.

This phase of our subject is admirably treated by Doctor Coe in his volume already quoted. He says:

"Here is a child who calls for stories, stories, stories, without end. Of what possible use to give such a child instruction in a doctrinal catechism? Let the spontaneous interest be fed, yet not for the sake of quieting the child. For the content of the story educates. Imagination, feeling, moral and spiritual inspiration can be called out by simply bringing appropriate images before the mind in story form.

"When a boy reaches the age that calls for 'blood and thunder' stories, what shall be done? Shall we condemn his taste because we ourselves have outgrown it? Shall we try to suppress such reading? That would give incentive for the clandestine reading that has helped to ruin many a boy. Secret disobedience is the natural result of trying to suppress a spontaneous interest. And even if our negative measures succeed, what do we accomplish? We simply take something of the spirit, the freshness, the initiative out of the boy; he is in the way of becoming namby-pamby. The only sound

* Miss Mabel C. Bragg, of Lowell.

method is to supply the demand by providing wholesome tales of adventure and heroism."

I would like to speak of the pedagogical applications of the facts implicated in the recently demonstrated kinesthetic sense,* which, more than has been generally supposed, is probably the chief factor in the development of self-consciousness, of the ideas of space, and other so-called "innate ideas." Tennyson voiced the truth that the soul acts in and through the body, grows with its growth, and through the body comes to know itself, when, in "In Memoriam," he wrote

> "So rounds he [the baby] to a separate mind
> From which clear memory may begin,
> As through the frame that binds him in
> His isolation grows defined."

Passing by other interesting contributions of pedagogy and biology, I must not close without brief consideration of the question as to the light thrown by biology on the fixing of habit and the formation of character. Habit is not altogether a matter of the mind. Doctor James very rightly remarks: "I believe that we are subject to the law of habit in consequence of the fact that we have bodies." Habit may be defined as that condition of mind and body which, acquired by frequent conscious repetition of an act, causes that act to be performed easily, involuntarily, and unconsciously. The biological explanation of the establishment of habit is that "downward growth"† has taken place; the nerve currents, stimulated by a sense impression, come to be discharged through lower centers of the neural axis instead of through higher centers. The spinal cord rather than the brain does the work.

Physical control and moral control are closely related. Physical control is the basis of moral control. The child who has attained, by wise guidance, to prompt and easy physical control, who has been brought to the stage of doing reflexly

* "Physical Basis of Mind," p. 201.

† J. M. Baldwin, "Elements of Psychology," pp. 39–51.

and without consciousness, with spinal cord instead of with brain, only that which is right physically, may be led, without difficulty, to attain to moral control, to doing the right thing mentally and spiritually with lower centers instead of with the highest ones. The teacher of the child should remember that other pregnant sentence of James: that "the great thing in education is to make our nervous system our ally instead of our enemy." This is not only good biology and good pedagogy but also good theology, for Saint Paul says: "Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual," words which, I think, without wresting Scripture from its purpose, may be applied reverently in this connection.

Character, too, is not a thing altogether of the soul. For character is but the sum or aggregate of one's habits, not what one does consciously or with effort, but what one does generally, habitually, unconsciously. Tendencies to right reactions must be engrained into the body of the child. The brain, and the mind with it, "grow into the modes in which they are exercised." The primary object of the teacher, lay or clerical, should be to form good character, to help children to gain control of mind through control of body, to attain to mastery of self through mastery of the organs of the self. Such considerations, to me at least, give a greater fulness of meaning to the words of the Apostle: "that each one may receive the things *done* in (Greek, 'through') the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad."*

Thus may the child come into his own, enter upon his religious inheritance, both that which is here and that which is hereafter. Such seems to have been the thought of Tennyson in the concluding stanza of the canto from which the preceding quotation was taken:

> "This use may lie in blood and breath,
> Which else were fruitless of their due,
> Had man to learn himself anew
> Beyond the second birth of death."

* Corinthians 5: 10.

Our processes of education must not go on contrary to the laws of child life. Emerson, in a sentence misunderstood by most persons who quote it, said: "Hitch your wagon to a star."* By this he meant that only by making use of natural forces working or functioning normally can one work with greatest effectiveness and ease. We are to hitch to the star; the star will work for us. The teacher must not be like Sisera against whom "the stars in their courses" fought.

As teachers, as Christian ministers, as parents even, we should study these laws, should familiarize ourselves with the operation of these forces. Knowing these laws, accommodating our practice to our knowledge, we shall verily be "workers together with God." We shall aid our pupils in the accomplishment of the most important thing—the formation of righteous character. Then, when brain and brawn have subserved their present purpose, the soul having "learned itself" shall enter fully equipped into that other life of which this is the preparation, that life in which, as the poet Browning suggests (in "Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day"), the soul may come into possession of a

> "Brow,
> With its new palace-brain where dwells
> Superb the soul, unvexed by cells
> That crumbled with the transient clay,"

KUTZTOWN, PA.

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Note.—The foregoing bibliography has been prepared at the request of friends who, interested, wish to pursue the subject further.—W. W. D.

II.

THE PRESENT ACTIVITY OF CHRIST.

BY PROFESSOR E. S. BROMER, D.D.

That this subject should be assigned in the present stage of theological discussion and practical religious life, is not at all surprising. It lies at the center of the modern point of view, for the simple reason that the keen sense of the immanence of the Divine Spirit makes men feel "the push of reality within," and at the same time convinces us that what God fundamentally revealed in man cannot be contradictory to that which He has manifested in Christ. The tendencies of modern theology are *psychological* and *historical.* It is due to Kant and the rise of the critical philosophy of which he is the father that our modern study of religion has so much to do with psychological questions. Since his day the subjective element and its contribution to knowledge cannot be ignored. Side by side with this movement has come the awakening of the historical spirit, the effort to conceive of life in terms of growth and development. Patient research covering all possible facts and the widest possible field, is characteristic of this new spirit. It is thus that in the sphere of religion men are making a new first-hand study of man in the name of biology, psychology and sociology on the one hand, and on the other, of the manifestation of Christ in history. Science is doing heroic service for religion. The characteristic books of the period are those seeking to state the essence of Christianity as revealed in its historical manifestation in Christ and in His followers throughout the Christian centuries; and those descriptive of the psychology of religion as revealed in the souls of men to-day. Under such conditions it is highly significant to find, on the one side, the clear testimony that "man is incurably religious" and, on the other, that Jesus is a his-

torical fact and that the founding of a pure, spiritual religion is His great work. The modern mind must realize God, not only as ancient history but as the one who now is.

Expressive of this deep feeling and typical among modern definitions of religion is the following of Professor Harnach: "That a man should find God and possess Him as his God,—should live in fear of Him, trust Him and lead a holy and blessed life in the strength of this feeling,—this is the substance and aim of religion." And with reference to the revelation of this personal God, the Christian ever says, that the one who best has made Him known is Jesus of Nazareth. The Christian world is returning to the definition of religion as Jesus gave it as final: "This is eternal life, that they should know Thee, the only true God and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." If in our relation with God it is true, as Professor Albert C. Coe has said: "that a man need only to come to himself to find God," so too in our relation to Christ, the demand of a present consciousness must be satisfied in order to make Christianity vital to us.

It is only natural that out of these two tendencies in modern thought two central ideas should become clear: *First,* a definite and convincing sense of the historical Jesus; *second,* a better understanding of the characteristics and content of the religious consciousness of man. Both are being studied to-day with the constancy and accuracy and integrity of motive which mark the investigations of science so prominently in our day.

What we are coming to so slowly and painfully in the processes of life, the intuition and experience of Robert Browning caught at once. For him what was real and fundamental in the human consciousness must correspond in spirit with the divine. Thus in "Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day" he speaks out of the depths of the human consciousness:

> "Take all in a word: the truth in God's breast
> Lies trace for trace upon ours impressed.
> Though He is so bright and we are so dim,
> We are made in His image to witness Him.
> And were no eye in us to tell,

Instructed by no inner sense,
The light of heaven from the dark of hell,
That light would want its evidence,—
Though justice, good, and truth were still
Divine, if, by some demon's will,
Hatred and wrong had been proclaimed
Law through the worlds and right misnamed."

The prodigal "came to himself" and in coming to himself discovered the image of the father within. The lost coin has still the impress of the king and his realm. The lost sheep is still a sheep of the shepherd, though lost to the fold. Is the light in us darkness? The affirmations of our modern faith here are positive and clear.

In the other tendency of the age Browning also speaks with insight and power. In the "Death in the Desert" he strikes at the heart of the problem of historical criticism, stripping it of all that is adventitious and non-essential:

"And no one asks his fellow any more
Where is the promise of His coming? but
Was He revealed in any of His lives,
As Power, as Love, as influencing Soul?"

In other words, the faith of to-day is working out the problem of the manifestation of God in terms of the actual phenomena of history and experience. However transcendent He may be as God, He is for our age knowable as immanent and best understood in terms of the consciousness of the highest of His creations—man himself. Right here lies our greatest danger—pantheism, but here also lies our final deliverance. As Professor Wundt says with reference to the ethical problems of civilization, "The dangers of civilization can be met only by further advance in civilization"; so likewise the dangers of satisfying the hunger of the modern spirit for an immanent God, can only be met by relentlessly following the guidance of the doctrine to its conclusion which leads to personality and transcendence. God as sought and felt and known in the consciousness of man, must ultimately be a personal God. Professor Churchill King says in his book "The

Personal and Ideal Elements in Education"; "For 'principles' and 'plans' and 'laws,' so far as I am able to see, have no real existence, that will bear thorough thinking, and can do nothing apart from being, that must be conceived ultimately in essentially personal terms."

It was in the *consciousness of Jesus* that the deepest realization and expression of the sense of personality and oneness with God as a personal God, as Father, came to light. In the fullest sense of the word He is "the truth, the way and the life." In the height to which He rises on the one side, He is the human consciousness at its best, and on the obverse, He is the 'express image of God's person,' the effulgence of His glory. He is the "Son of God" because He is truly the "Son of Man"; He is the "Son of Man" because He is truly the "Son of God." The religious content of His consciousness is the greatest thing of history. Sabatier's estimate of the person of Jesus is not too high nor too low. It stands on a par with that of the Apostle Paul. "His person is the incarnation, the living expression of the Gospel. From His person the Gospel receives its creative virtue; it enters the world as a historical potency, a leaven of renovation and of life. The religious consciousness of Jesus, far from being an obstacle to the religion of the spirit, is the elect place of the world, the holy place, from which this religion, like the river that flowed forth from the temple, gushes forth a living spring to water all future generations."

The next important thing in the Gospel is the "*answering consciousness*" born and developed in the disciples. "To transmit that feeling, to develop the organs in which it can reside, to warm the heart of humanity everywhere with this central heat—this is the business of religion to-day" (J. Brierley, in "Problems of Living").

This is the real heart of our modern quest. We are seeking to know what is the particular fact in history which calls forth the distinctive Christian experience. The soul of the Christian cries out—"It is the historic Jesus." But how can He

reach us to-day, since more than 1,900 years have passed since He lived and died? This is our problem: "The Present Activity of Christ"—How is it possible?

From the nature of this introduction it is already manifest that the subject will be discussed more in the light of the method of Christ's present activity than of its content, although the latter is not altogether lost sight of but is only treated suggestively.

Before proceeding further, let us define the limitations of this paper in order to avoid confusion. The point of view is restricted to the present activity of Jesus in the individual soul. To view it in its sociological aspect would certainly be very interesting, but our time allows us merely to say that here is a new phase of modern thinking of richest suggestiveness.

To give us a definite beginning, let each one of us ask himself the personal question,—How is Jesus operative as a vital power in my soul; how did He become so; am I realizing the fulness of union and fellowship with Him? The answers to this threefold question will yield a conception of the origin, the present significance and the completeness of the activity of Jesus in our lives.

Beginning an analysis of the positive touch of Jesus with my soul, there are three avenues of approach that stand the test of experience. First, Jesus becomes and is increasingly operative in my soul in and through the Word, the Scriptures which reveal the facts of His life. Second, Jesus as incarnated in the lives of individuals and in the community, is ever active in my soul. Third, Jesus, Himself as the individual glorified Christ touches my soul so that my "life is hid with Christ in God." It is thus that Jesus as the historic Christ touches me by the original impression which His life made on men and became literature. He is here the Christ of history. He indirectly reaches me through the Christian Community. Here he is the Christ of realized life. He finally, through the "Mystical Union" with Him in prayer and fellowship,

speaks to my inmost heart. Here He is the Christ of experience. In short we have by an analysis of our Christian consciousness, the Christ of history, the Christ of the community, the Christ of individual experience.

Before proceeding further, reference should be made to a presupposition underlying the whole subject. The very possibility of a present activity of Jesus is dependent on the Holy Spirit as its medium and method. In truth the spirit of the Lord and the Holy Spirit often seem interchangeable terms in the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of Paul. At any rate, the New Testament does not set forth a metaphysical Trinity and we leave the whole subject here, making the broad presupposition that the Holy Spirit is ever in and through all things, and that the present activity of Jesus is possible because of it.

We take up first:

I. The Present Activity of Jesus in and Through the Word.

Literature is the expression of life; it in turn becomes a stimulus to life; of itself, however, it never begets life. Life only can propagate life. The problem of the New Testament literature with reference to its relation to its sources is essentially the problem of all literature. When Jesus said, "It is the spirit that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you they are spirit and are life," it was preëminently true that the word out of the soul of the living Jesus, entering the ears of the living disciples, was alive indeed. Peter, confronted with the question, "Will ye also go away?" could answer nothing less than "Lord, unto whom else shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we have believed and know that Thou art the Holy One of God." Jesus, however, had no printed testament in mind.

The necessity emphasized by Jesus of distinguishing between spirit and flesh is the same as incumbent on us in studying the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to distin-

guish between form and spirit. As ever their spirit is Jesus, the Christ. A quotation from Emerson will illustrate:

"There are all degrees of proficiency in knowledge of the world. It is sufficient to our present purpose to indicate three. One class live to the utility of the symbol, esteeming health and wealth a final good. Another class live above this mark to the beauty of the symbol, as the poet and artist and naturalist and man of science. A third class live above the beauty of the symbol to the beauty of the thing symbolized; these are wise men. The first class have common sense; the second, taste; the third, spiritual perception. Once in a long time, a man traverses the whole scale, and sees and enjoys the symbol solidly, then also has a clear eye for its beauty, and lastly, whilst he pitches his tent on the sacred volcanic isle of nature, does not offer to build houses and barns thereon,—reverencing the splendor of the God which he sees bursting through every chink and cranny." In applying this quotation to scripture the beauty and power of the thing symbolized is Jesus, the Christ.

To appreciate our problem to-day as believers with reference to the influence of Jesus in and through the Word, we must ask for two persons qualified to speak. The first, the pious believer whose spiritual insight takes him right to the heart of the Scriptures; the second, the Christian student, who by the scientific method finds the Christian essentials in the Scriptures of the Old Testament and New. Both must be able to see and to enjoy "the symbol"; both appreciate "the beauty of the symbol"; and both have the prophetic eye to see "the beauty and the life of the thing symbolized." The one does it by the intuitive spiritual vision of his faith; the other, through the guidance of his faith arrives at the heart of things through the processes of critical and scientific investigation. As Professor Harnach says, "Let the plain Bible-reader continue to read his gospels as he has hitherto read them; for in the end the critic cannot read them otherwise. What the one regards as their true gist and meaning,

the other must also appreciate to be so." What is that gist? What is the spirit which gives content to the form? What is that which the faithful student and the pious believer alike find? For the latter there is much in the Scriptures which does not concern him. The dictum of Coleridge "What finds me, that is inspired for me," becomes his whatever theory of inspiration he may consciously or unconsciously hold. He has no concern about critical problems. Neither infallibility, nor the magic of miracles, nor the official investiture and defense of councils, nor the problems of the metaphysician or the theologian, are determining factors in his relation to the Bible, but for him the good Book speaks because of its spiritual authority. He uses the letter but transcends it and in his rapture cries out, "The flesh profiteth nothing, the spirit giveth life." To him it is not so much a code as a volume of testimony; not so much a law as a means of grace. In the Old Testament he finds the Christ of prophecy; in the New, the Christ of realization. It kindles faith in the living God made known in the living Christ. The human and divine meet in him and for him eternal life has begun. He believes and he knows that he believes and lives.

For the scientific historian the process is very different but the result is the same. The problem of the text of the Scriptures and the rise of the Canons of the Old and New Testaments disabuses his mind of the fallacies of the mechanical theory of inspiration and takes all miracle out of the idea of the preservation of the text and Canon. The literary phenomena under the searching light of honest historical methods reveal the marks of compilations, revisions and rescensions in both the Testaments. Historical researches and discoveries in bible lands and others, have so interlaced the history of the biblical literature with the life of the world as to deepen and broaden faith in the universal providence of God. The critical study of the Gospel of the infancy of Jesus and of the after-resurrection days, the Johannine problem and all the other difficulties of New Testament study—force the great

question, is it possible that the net result leaves anything sufficient for faith and the practical religious life? After all is said, the critical student has the essentials. He reconciles the development of history and the large emphasis of a single person, in the evident fact that the historical Jesus as given in the New Testament is the adequate cause of the result and that there can be no development of an idea without the existence of the correspondent personality. No aspiration or progress has ever existed without the miraculous exertion of an individual will. The historical Jesus stands out clearly as the ground and inspiration of the first Christian community and the whole Christian religion. Those who were with Him knew Him and trusted Him, glorified Him as teacher and worshipped Him as Lord, the Prince of Life and the Judge of the world. But more than that; not only does the historical Jesus stand out clearly as the source of Christianity and as "Love and Power and Influencing Soul," but the student finds Him the essential bond between the disciples and their God. That is, Jesus to them is the only name given under heaven whereby men are to be saved. It is so often said that having the idea of Jesus, *i. e.,* having understood the religion of Jesus and His sense of filial relationship, we no longer need Him. To find God as Father, love and obey Him, and live the life of love through Him,—this is religion, this is Jesus' religion, and having found it, why farther exalt Jesus, or why not at least be honest and regard Him as a mere means to an end and not as an end in Himself. But here is the vital point of the present activity of Jesus on us, in and through the Word. The united testimony of the first Christian community points to Jesus as the Lord of Life. By looking to Jesus they saw the possibility of fellowship with the Father and deliverance from sin. It is one thing naturally to feel after God; it is another to know and realize Him. Men have ever tried by searching to find God, but always failed. It is in Christ that the first Christian community find the one who by His life and death reconciled them to the

Father. Looking to Jesus as the solution of the problem of faith, not in a philosophical or metaphysical form, but by looking in loving trust to the image of His life, did they find peace and forgiveness and new life. Looking unto Jesus is still the way to the Father and thus to salvation. His was the love that was pure; His the faith and the trust in the Father, that was unwavering and child-like; His the teaching that ever came with authority, His the will, ever doing the will of the Father; His the sacrifice, and His the cross which made at-one-ment with God possible for sinful man.

The Word, therefore, binds the student as well as the pious believer to the person of Christ. Idea and personality are inseparable. He that gave the idea of a pure spiritual religion centering in the Fatherhood of God and the Sonship of man, incarnated the idea in Himself, and to-day as ever "He is the way, the truth and the life." He is the Son of God preëminent.

But the critical student faces the cry, "that where our idea of Jesus has not been destroyed by historical criticism, it has been rendered doubtful." It is true that many things are ascribed to the influence of the times, and the environment of the New Testament and Messianic Prophecy has been reduced to its essence, but it is not true that historical criticism has destroyed the main lineaments of the personality of Jesus. The testimony that He gave of Himself, the combined testimony of the first Christian community, in gospel and epistle, set forth the Christ in an unmistakable certainty. The letter may be faulty but the image of the Christ is imperishable.

It is the historical Christ, as prophesied in the Old and realized in the New Testament, that stands out clearly to influence the believer to-day. There is nothing that has so quickened the faith of the rising generation as the new setting forth of the man Jesus through the unwearied labors of the students of the Word. The bare fact of the historical Christ stands unchallenged to-day by all honest students. The word

of Scripture will forever stand as the essential cornerstone of the Christian life and the touchstone of Christian doctrine, because it contains all that man can ever know of the historical Jesus. A. B. Bruce says (Apologetics), "Knowledge of the historical Jesus is the foundation at once of a sound Christian theology and of a thoroughly healthy Christian life."

II. Jesus in and Through the Believing Individual and the Believing Community.

Let us turn to the second way in which Jesus is operative in my life as a believer; viz., Jesus as incarnated in the life of the individual believer and the community.

"In Him was life and that life was the light of men," and "whosoever believeth in Him hath eternal life." Christianity is a life. Life only begets life. Who of us that claims to know Jesus but has a spiritual Father who broke the Bread of Life to him? Who owes nothing to the Christ in the lives of parents, teachers, friends and the Christian community? Who does not remember the soul on fire with the love of Christ, that in turn kindled him to flame? What is the line of the true apostolic succession but the divine life running through all believers from individual to individual throughout the Christian centuries. Trace its source from your own life beckward through the centuries. There can be no missing links, at the end of the series stands Jesus, the historic Christ. It is from Him that the stream of life first flowed forth. He is the rock that was smitten and out of Him flowed the living Water. Here is the truth of the saying of Jesus at the great feast at Jerusalem, recorded in the seventh chapter of John: "He that believeth on me, as the Scripture said, out of him shall flow rivers of living Water." Thus from believer to believer, from generation to generation, the stream of the Christ-life has flowed.

In every age it laid hold upon its environment and influenced it and was in turn influenced by it. It expressed itself in a visible church, arose in song and prayer and liturgy,

settled in dogma and invested itself in sacraments. It became manifest in law and social customs and everywhere stimulated men to freedom.

It started from Jerusalem and with the Star of Empire moved westward and so moves still, promising well to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. It is this life which transmits the power of Jesus.

From the individual point of view Fechner, the German Philosopher, in his "Büchlein vom Leben nach dem Tode" beautifully describes this ever-living and widening influence of Jesus. "The greatest example of a mighty soul which lives actively in after ages is Christ. It is not an empty saying that Christ lives on in His followers; every true Christian holds Him not only relatively but absolutely within his heart. Every one is a partaker in Him who acts and thinks in obedience to His law, for it is Christ who prompts his thinking and acting in each one. He has extended His influence through all the members of His church and all cling together through His Spirit, like the apple to its stem and the branch to the vine. "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many are one body: so also is Christ. I. Cor. 12:12." The content of this quotation implies the Christ at the beginning of the series and giving life to the whole series. It is this which makes the Christian Centuries and their literature. It is this principle which makes the work of the historian the most vital in a modern theological seminary. It is this that makes us tolerant and reverent in studying the most unfavorable as well as the favorable centuries of Christian History. It is this which is the impulse that drives us today to seek new expression for the life within us in terms of our present *Weltanschauung,* not because we have a new Gospel to restate but because the terms in which an effete science and cosmology clothed the old Gospel, have lost their significance and our present day needs demand statements in the terms of the new science which has become generally accepted. It is this that

has been making us even dream of a universal statement of Christian truth not in the terms of philosophy or science, but in the terms of Jesus Himself.

From the social point of view of the operative power of Jesus in the life of the community and therefore on every individual soul, we have the most significant advance of the Christian thought and work of our age. An entirely new literature has sprung up around the idea of the Kingdom of God as taught and founded by Jesus. Nothing short of the "New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven to fill the earth" will ever satisfy the newly awakened Christian conscience. The social significance of the teaching of Jesus has come with the force of a new revelation. And this effect is not because the teachings of Jesus are regarded as a new code of social laws but rather as giving a new spirit and atmosphere growing out of the old Gospel of grace and love itself. It is therefore, not as a mere teaching as such, but as with individual salvation the person of Jesus is inseparably connected with the idea of eternal life, so with the social salvation, the person of Jesus operative in the individual and the community is essential. It means that Jesus not only gave the idea of the Kingdom but also the power to realize it. It is this element which is regarded of vital significance in the discussion of the New Testament problems. Pure, absolute history we have most nearly in the synoptic Gospels but which of these is not already an interpretation? Is it possible to give an absolute statement of the historical Jesus? Is the religious consciousness of Jesus a legitimate object of scientific study? To be truly honest we must admit that much is to be desired when the very best is said, but here is the point of deepest significance: The life of Jesus in all its glory and power touched the first community. Paul and John, Peter and James and others give us the effect of that marvellous life on them. They give us their interpretation of the Christ. They set Him on the very pinnacle of creation. The life divine touched them. Here is the indisputable fact of history.

The cry "Back to Christ" means that we see through the eyes of them who best understood Him. The inevitable presupposition is a historical Jesus adequate to such a result. Christianity has become a life. What more is needed? If there is more needed, it is included in this, that a glorified and immediately present Jesus is the conclusion faith demands.

But is it not this truth which should awaken Protestants to a more lively sense of the meaning of Jesus in the present Christian community? Every sincere follower of Jesus of whatever sect he may be, should be judged by the degree of the Christ-life in him. Every old creed still found among us should be reverenced not merely as of historic value but as a symbol which still bears for many the living Waters. Many an old song, and many a form of worship sacred to the Fathers and Mothers in Israel, should command our patience. What is the spiritual meaning of the sacraments when the conception of Christianity as a life is forgotten? What more than this sense of the indwelling Christ in the individual and community, can sanctify toil and labor and give us a true appreciation of the rights of man. What more than this can bring to pass the true democracy in which the economics of righteous distribution of the earnings of labor and capital shall be understood as well as the economics of efficient production?

Christ in the individual makes Christianity a personal individualized power. Christ in the community makes Christianity an atmosphere. Christ thus in the believing individual and the believing community becomes a deep and subtle influence upon my life. Along the line of this multiplied power the saying of Jesus is indeed true, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto the Father."

The incarnation of Jesus thus becomes an all important Christian truth; the re-incarnation of Jesus in man its essential counterpart. The life, the sufferings and the death of Jesus with all their significance are all to this end that the

Christ-life may become the normal life of man. The community embodying this life becomes a great and increasingly important factor in saving men. Two conditions must be more and more realized in the world that the world may be saved: viz., first Christianity as a life and Christianity as an environment. Eternal life is a growing correspondence between this inner life and outer environment.

The influence of the personal Jesus upon the individual and community cannot be easily measured in all this. Whether the conservative regards an objective atonement, or the liberal the ethical attractive assimilating power of vicarious love, as the heart of it all, is not as important as we think. Faith in Christ, faith which is vital union with Christ is the great demand. What Jesus does objectively for us, cannot really contradict what he does subjectively in us. It is all to this end that the Christ-life may become our life, both in the individual and the community. This deep ethical conviction is the dominant tone of modern Christianity. We understand Paul clearly today in his saying "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone that believeth." Rom. 11:4. For this reason the idea of the Kingdom is growing more and more among us and the ideal of social laws seeking the welfare of the greatest number is the great world-hunger of the day. To this end we would not however try to derive a new theology and a new socialistic scheme, from the social consciousness of the day, but we do expect to get a better understanding of the theology of Jesus and His Kingdom that His spirit may mould and dominate all. Here again we return to Jesus Himself and rest all on His person.

III. Jesus, the Glorified Christ, in Immediate Touch with the Soul.

Thus far we have remained on the solid ground of fact. Jesus in and through the Word, and Jesus in and through the individual community are demonstrable facts. They are based on the recognized principles of history and psychology:

first, the development of an idea and second the fact of personality. There is no strain of normal history or psychology.

But there is another type of the present activity of Jesus. The Jesus of history and life to the believer becomes also the glorified Christ. This comes by the logic of faith as inevitably as Kants' catagorical imperative comes by the logic of conscience. It is sometimes called the "mystical union with Christ." If Jesus actually rose from the dead, if He illustrates in His own being His teaching concerning immortality, He is to-day a glorified Christ and exists now as a personality. An immediate influence of Jesus upon the individual believer is therefore not so far remote from common sense and experience. And yet here we reach the border land and we confess we see "through a glass darkly," but we see. Strangely enough, here is the element which makes faith a vital ethical experience and just the very element on which we would lay most emphatic emphasis.

To our mind, a metaphysical abstraction has no real existence; a mere law is nothing without its concrete phenomena; an idea is never separate from personality. As we refuse to worship a mere philosophical absolute as God, except he be in all and through all and over all, as a living being, so we refuse to love and serve a Christ who is a dead Christ. A mere historical Christ, who can be only an ancient memory, as some moderns make Him, or be volatilized into a mere idea, as Baur tried to prove, is not sufficient to maintain the vitality of the Christian religion. In truth it is the efficient phenomena which make man seek hypothesis after hypothesis to discover the law. The one that answers not the facts is soon discarded. In the historic Christ the life divine has come to fullest light. In touch with Him we come to the consciousness of immortality. If merely in a historic Christ, "if in this life only we have faith in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." The Jesus who taught the race the lesson of eternal life cannot be dead and inactive now. The days of a vague, shadowy, aimless existence of a Hebrew Sheol or a

Greek Hades, can be no more to him who believes in Jesus Christ. An immortality whose concrete reality fulfills not for faith the Johannine formula—"I am the first and the last, the Living One; and I was dead and behold I am alive forever more, and I have the keys of death and Hades," cannot be the subject of a vitalizing faith. In experience, the Christ of prophecy becomes the Christ of history, and the Christ of history becomes the Christ of Glory.

Fechner, the great German philosopher, who is fast coming to larger recognition and is sympathetically quoted by such men as Paulsen of Berlin and Wundt of Leipsic, finds no trouble to believe in the life after death. His theory of the entire material universe as being inwardly alive and consciously animated instead of dead, easily admits of the belief that the dead are alive forevermore, and more than that are actively influencing the living. He regards the personal Jesus as now existent and more active and influential to-day than ever before.

However this may be in the case of Fechner's philosophy, we do find in the Apostle Paul full reason to believe and to speak of a mystical union of the believer with Jesus, and therefore of an immediate fellowship with Him. Paul knew a Christ in himself, because of a Christ manifested to him. He says, "Last of all, as to a child untimely born, he appeared unto me also." In relating his experience on the way to Damascus, he reports Jesus as saying, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But arise and stand upon thy feet; for to this end have I appeared unto thee, to appoint thee a minister and a witness both of the things wherein thou hast seen me, and of the things wherein I will appear unto thee." Let us not now trouble ourselves with the problem whether Jesus objectively appeared unto Paul or whether it was merely a subjective vision in Paul. The problem is really whether Paul believed in a risen and glorified Christ and whether he had any influence on his life. James Freeman Clark in his "Ideas of the Apostle Paul" makes the following strong state-

ment: "If every great effect must have a cause adequate to produce it, if only reality can create reality, if large movements among men cannot be accomplished by illusions, but only by the power of truth and fact, then we are compelled to believe that there is something real behind the vision of Paul. And we must be very deeply steeped in materialism if we cannot conceive it possible that a spirit like that of Christ may be able to communicate from the other side of the veil 'which stoops, low-hung,' between this life and the next." It is but doing justice to the accredited Pauline literature to say that this glorified Christ is the center of his theology and work. His letters are full of the mystic union with Christ. It is the characteristic Pauline terminology on this point which determines the integrity of his epistles. Among the finest expressions growing out of this fellowship with Christ are such as the following: "Rejoicing in the Lord," "Your lives are hid with Christ in God," "Christ in you the Hope of Glory." This is "the Mystery" long hidden but now revealed. His whole theory of justification and sanctification is rooted in this personal fellowship with Christ and in being clothed in His righteousness. "In Christ" appears on almost every page of his letters and on most of them frequently. He will rather suffer the loss of all things and count them refuse, "that he may gain Christ and be found in Him." Even death is a gain because in departing he would "be with Christ; for it is very far better." The glorified Jesus is for Paul the constant content of his own experience, his theology and his work.

But it would be a grave misunderstanding of Paul which would volatilize this union with Christ into a vague, sentimental mysticism. It has the deepest ethical significance. It is associated with the whole of the Christian life because involved in the whole principle of faith wherein a man is justified and lives before God. Faith is not a mere attitude without moral significance. It carries no merit with it, indeed, but it is an appropriation of Christ, "the unspeakable gift"

of God's grace. It is the bond which unites the believer with Christ. It denotes a new personal relation. It can as little be a mere attitude as a "mere opinion." It is entrance into a vital soul fellowship with Christ. It is personal, vital and efficient. This ethical union with Christ is brought out clearly in such passages as Gal. 2:17. "But if while we sought to be justified in Christ we ourselves were found sinners, is Christ a minister of sin? God forbid!" and 2 Cor. 5:21, "Him who knew no sin He made to be sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God through Him"; and also Phil. 3:9, "That I may gain Christ and be found in Him, not having a righteousness of my own, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness that is from God by faith." To be "in Christ" is practically to "have the righteousness that is from God." How clearly Gal. 2:20, sets this forth: "I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I that live but Christ that liveth in me: and that life which I now live in the flesh and live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved and gave himself for me."

This ethical oneness with the glorified Christ is intimately associated with our modern feeling for Christ. The very power of this mystical fellowship with the glorified Jesus ever drives us back to all we can possibly know of the historical Jesus as a fact and as known and believed in the first Christian community, with a view of getting the clearest conception of his person, life, teaching and work among and for men. To be in Him means to be like Him and a partaker of His nature. Men are seeing to-day that to be saved is to share the life of God and therefore of His character and blessedness. Faith is the vital relationship with God which makes this possible. It is Jesus who is the way to the Father to-day as ever. Persistent association with Christ is therefore the great essential. As Professor King recently said, "The only effective road to character we know, is through personal association with the best. The dynamic is finally personal always; in it God

graciously allows the lesser personalities, down to the lowliest Christian, to share; but the fully adequate power for the production of the highest character is only in the greatest person, Christ. Only as men put themselves persistently, habitually in His presence, is character secured. And a man is to do this, not vaguely and with mere mystical emotion, but with earnest, intelligent determination to know with thoroughness and appreciation the earthly historical manifestation of God in Christ—to become saturated with the spirit and teaching of Jesus until he has caught his convictions of God and the spiritual world and his come to share his feelings toward God and men, and has taken his purposes of the Kingdom upon Him. Only so do we prove ourselves real learners of Christ—only so are we faithfully fulfilling the conditions through which we abide in Christ and Christ in us, and through which the Spirit may take the things of Christ and show them unto us. Christ means so personally to deliver us. And a man may count, as upon the very laws of the universe, upon the certain results of persistent association with Christ. ("Personal Elements in Teaching," pp. 264, 265.)

Thus it seems clear that with Paul the knowledge of the living, glorified Christ, into whose image he was ever being transformed, was the basis of his Christian experience. His pre-christian life as a persecutor of Christians presupposes his knowledge of the historical Christ but his Christian experience growing out of contact with the risen Christ is the central and efficient thing of his life and work. In this experience the union of the historic Jesus with the living, glorified Christ is made and the circle of faith is complete, the earthly grows into the heavenly, mortality is swallowed up by immortality; for He that lived and died is alive forevermore. It likewise becomes the certainty of faith as Jesus promised, because He lives we shall live also.

The modern emphasis of the subjective element in knowledge and reality tends to make inner experience in religion correspond with empirical experiment in science. The consciousness of God as realized in and through Christ by the be-

liever, corrected indeed by the knowledge of the historical Jesus, and transmitted as an inheritance in the Christ of the community, is nevertheless made vital and efficient only by the realization of the ever living and glorified Christ. Whatever the historical genesis of our faith may be, the Christianity which will maintain the place of Jesus as Lord of the Soul, will be that which is fresh and vital in its fellowship with the glorified Christ and verifies itself in Christian life and character.

Conclusion.

We have spoken of the present activity of Jesus from three points of view: the first Jesus in and through the Word; second Jesus in and through the believing individual and community; third Jesus, the glorified Christ, immediately touching the soul. The first would make us get as near Jesus, His teachings, life and work as possible, as historical facts. The second would make us search the Christian consciousness of the present and the past and respond to the best in it. The third would lead us to a life of fellowship with Christ and deep spiritual oneness with Him as a present power and personality. We have here the Christ of history, the Christ of the community, the Christ of experience. These three are one and yet separate in emphasis, for so they are in history. The Christ of the Word is the special emphasis of the historic churches of the Reformation; the Christ of the community is brought to a climax of theory in the Roman Catholic conception of the Church; the Christ of experience is the life of Pietism of all ages and reaches its culmination in the allied churches of Methodism. In the persistence of the three types to this day, and in the fact that the three exist really although in different proportions in each type and in every period of the history of each type, do we have the proof that each is an essential to a rounded Christian character, and the branch of the Christian Church which will best satisfy the fundamental human needs as reflected in all three, may ultimately be the center of a reunited Christendom. Christianity as an experience must ever command and control the enthusiasms of men.

Christianity as a life must be organized into an efficient institution. Christianity as a doctrine must be simple enough to be vital and universal. Will it ever be true that Catholicism will admit the freedom of Protestant theology and nurture the deepest Pietism? Any one of the three types developed to the exclusion of the others proves disastrous to the spiritual life of its adherents. The corrective of mysticism is the knowledge of the historical. The quickening of the knowledge of the historical Jesus into faith is union and fellowship with a present, glorified Christ. The constant necessity of the Christ in the community is the realization of the Jesus of history and fellowship with the Christ of Glory.

The question of primacy or of priority in time of these three conceptions of the approach to Christ or His approach to us, may seem the all importaint one but is it in reality? The three are essential. In real vital consciousness they are one. At any given moment their power is known only in the unity of the consciousness of the Church and in the warm life of the personal believer. Bruce in his "Apologetics," Hermann in his "Des Christen Verkehr mit Gott," with many others eloquently plead for the primacy of the Jesus of history. Dale in the "Living Christ and the four Gospels," and Stearns in his "Evidence of Christian experience," find the deepest evidence of Christianity in the fact that the Christians know the living, the glorified Christ and have realized His spiritual power in their own hearts. The modern Hegelians, among whom are Thomas Hill Green and Principal Fairburn, exalt as the final and perfect philosophic idea, the gradual evolutional manifestation of God himself in the world and humanity.

A living synthesis of the three tendencies is essential. It is only possible when Jesus is conceived of as the historic Jesus, living on and in the continuity and integrity of his own identity as a person, the Son of Man and the Son of God. The essentials of an experimental, verifiable, vital Christianity are in the three conceptions presented to-day.

The subject, the "Present Activity of Jesus," thus opens for us the very heart of our modern problem of the practical

Christian life and theology. At the center of all our quests is the passion for reality and personality. The naïve attitude of practical life finds the solution of its antinomies in action. The critical attitude since Kant has been swaying between idealism and realism until to-day its avowed aim is their reconciliation, as Professor Ladd says in his "Introduction to Philosophy," "Some form of monism which shall incorporate both realism and idealism is the intelligent and avowed aim of philosophy." In the field of experimental science the very multitude of new facts have so weighted Empiricism as to challenge Rationalism anew to find their meaning and tendency. Theology and the practical Christian life under these conditions of the nineteenth century could not fail to respond. This same passion for reality and the sense of the push of reality within, demand the verification of religion in experience. We must have a God who now is, a Christ who now saves, a Spirit who is ever active. As in philosophy, so in religion. In philosophy Kant found the reconciliation of sensationalism and rationalism in the judgment which is defined as the relation of the perception and conception. But the judgment in itself cannot be called reality. Knowledge may define perception and conception clearly but their union is possible only in action. In practical life; in science; in religion alike, the only conscious and real sense of reality we have is in and during the processes of phenomena. Faith is the problem of all life. Copernicus in science, Kant in philosophy, Luther in religion, each worked out the same problem. In the assertion of the will in practical life, in experiment and hypothesis in science, in the soul's leap to God through faith, lies the only sense of reality we know. "The just shall live by faith." "By the heart man believeth unto salvation." It is in response to this demand of our age that the Christian is made to give a reason for the faith that is in him. The very possibility of a present activity of Jesus becomes to him the crucial question. Jesus must mean something to him. He must be as the poet says: "Love, Power and Influencing Soul" He cannot be a mere dead fact of history.

In the light of such a claim, Christianity becomes experimental. It roots its final authority not so much in the past as in the present. A real Christ cannot be dead. A real God is active now. The Holy Spirit of God is a light that cannot be hid. These are the present facts demanding explanation.

Our findings center in Christ. The great demand of the Christian Church to-day is a truly Christian theology. It will be based on the historical and experimental, and therefore will be a theology of revelation, that is as revealed in Christ and the growing Christian consciousness. "He is the life which is the light of men."

The reconstruction needed therefore is not on the basis of the idea of the church as the constant incarnation of Jesus, nor the doctrine of the divine immanence, nor on the theory of evolution, nor on the idea of personality. These, like other systems, would in time "have their day and cease to be," such as the Greek theology based on the doctrine of the Eternal Logos; the Roman, founded on a metaphysical Trinity; the Mediaeval, concerned chiefly with the sacramental system and the doctrine of merit; or the Calvinistic, centering in the sovereignty of God. But may we not hope that we will have a theology based purely on the revelation in Christ, satisfying the deep needs of the human soul for dependence, fellowship and progress. This theology will see in the face of Jesus, the Father God, "the express image of His person," "the effulgence of His glory" on the one side, and on the other, the realized ideal of humanity. It will, however, never forget that "He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be abolished is death. For He put all things in subjection under His feet. But when He saith, all things are put under in subjection, it is evident that He is excepted who did subject all things unto Him. And when all things have been subjected unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him, that God may be all in all." (1 Cor. 15; 25–28.)

PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

III.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA MINOR.

JOHN HENRY STEPLER, D.D.

That the Church gained a firm foothold in North Africa, prior to the close of the third century, is a well-known fact. How and by whom individual churches there were established is not known. In some respects it is similar in Asia Minor. Here, too, it is easy to notice an astonishing growth of the early Church; but we are not wholly in the dark as to the establishment of churches. At least we need not be. Here we have sources of information, that are available to every student. Nevertheless, there is a lamentable confusion, not to say ignorance of the facts.

This is the more surprising, when we remember how intensely interesting these facts are. One is tempted, in view of the Apostolic Churches there, to call Asia Minor the new Holy Land of the first century.

There is reason to fear, first of all, a confusing want of definite geographical knowledge in regard to the regions here spoken of. Every intelligent reader of the Bible should know, for instance, to whom the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians was written. Nevertheless, it is exceedingly doubtful whether even the better informed ministers are quite clear on this matter. And no wonder. Our ordinary sources of information here are quite misleading. In commentaries, and in cyclopedias we look in vain for anything better than certain traditional errors. Hence it must be of interest to give here the results of more recent and original investigations, especially on the part of French and Scotch scholars.

But it will be said, what is the use, writing or reading on this subject? That Epistle, with all its contents remains the

same to all of us, no matter whether we know to whom it was first addressed or not. The ordinary layman speaking thus, may be excusable. Not so an intelligent student, or teacher, or preacher. Are you certain that you know the original, the historical sense of Gal. I., 6–8; or IV., 13–15? True, it is no disgrace if one remains ignorant of necessity. But when truth is accessible, we should aim to get its benefits.

When the question is here raised, as to the original recipients of that classic Epistle of Paul, we have no idea of discussing the term Galatia in its original sense. That the "Galatians" had come from Gaul, or the borders of the Rhine can be freely admitted, and readily dismissed as of no present interest. Not their ethnological history is of interest to us in this connection, but their history as *Christians* concerns us. It is evident that there had existed a very intimate personal relation between the writer and the readers of that Epistle. It is *intensly personal.* We are ready to give reasons for this fact. The ordinary assumption in our theological literature does not. It is exceedingly weak. Based on the ordinary notion, one can not understand St. Paul's intense feeling with reference to people who at best were almost strangers to him.

The whole matter becomes clear at once when we remember that in St. Paul's time there was a large Roman *Provincia Galatia,* which included large portions of other territory, even down to Antioch, Iconium and Lystra.* When Acts XIII. and XIV. are compared with Gal. IV., 13, 14, 15, 19, these passages become vivid with St. Paul's fervor and personal

* Renan, the learned French Theologian, who endeavors to be just to the life and work of St. Paul, has this to say of that Province: "Galatia embraced, certainly in the time of the early Ceasars, (1) Galatia proper; (2) Lycaonia; (3) Pisidia; (4) Isauria; (5) the mountainous part of Phrygia, including Apolonia and Antioch. . . . Paul uses the official designation of the Romans in speaking of the different countries. The land which he had evangelized, from Antioch in Pisidia down to Derbe, he called Galatia, and the Christian people in those regions he called 'Galatians.' This name was very dear to him. . . . While there, it seems, he had attacks of sickness and exhaustion. The care and sympathy he had there received, went to his heart." Compare Gal. IV, 13–15.

feeling. Looking back on that first memorable missionary journey; its hardships, barely alluded to; its successes scantily chronicled by St. Luke; its sufferings vividly remembered by "Paul, the aged," a lone prisoner and in near anticipation of his execution (2 Tim. III., 10–11) he says in sorrow: "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed on you labor in vain." At Lystra he had been received as come from heaven. It seems they were the same people whom he warns that though an angel from heaven should preach to them any other Gospel, he should be accursed.

It is thus evident that the allusions in the Epistle fit completely the story of the Acts. This in internal proof. And the geographical evidence confirms it. Let it be remembered here, that political geography is subject to frequent changes. The United States of A. D. 1800 were not commensurate with the United States of A. D. 1900. The Germany of 1865 was not the Germany of 1875. Even in 1905 the map of far eastern Russia has undergone a change. So it has been in the history of all countries. Asia Minor of old has been no exception. The territorial limits of Galatia have been very elastic. No map is reliable in this matter, if it does not give the Roman provinces of A. D. 50 to A. D. 60. It may be well in this connection to remember that Mysia, Bithynia, Pontus and Paphlagonia were found in the north of Asia Minor; while in the south Lycia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Pisidia and Cilicia are found. In the interior we find the three large provinces: east, *Cappadocia;* west, *Asia;* and between these two, *Galatia* occupying the great central plateau of Asia Minor. In the southwestern part of this immense province we find those cities known to us from Acts XIII. and XIV. When it is stated that Antioch was in *Pisidia,* we simply remember that the smaller is frequently in the larger. Galatia did overlap and embrace various minor divisions, at the time when Paul, as a Roman citizen, wrote to Christian people in Roman Galatia.

It is worth while too, to remember, that St. Paul's Epistles—with the exceptions of Romans and Colossians—are personal

letters. In fact they are for the most part intensely personal. Those to whom he writes are his children. He writes to them as their spiritual father, who had begotten them. On them he had bestowed his most earnest labors. For them he had wept burning tears. In behalf of them he had offered up his incessant prayers. So with his Corinthians, his Philippians, his Thessalonichans, his Timothy and especially his Galatians, whom Judaizing heretics had so sadly misled. One feels the warm pulsations of his heart, when he exclaims: *I am afraid of you, lest I have labored among you in vain.* In the light of these facts, it becomes a matter of great interest to approach the cradle of the first churches of Asia Minor. The account given by St. Luke deserves the closest attention. What he tells us of the way the first missionaries were delegated from Syrian Antioch, and their first experience on Cyprus, lies outside of the field now before us. We take up the story when they land on the southern coast of Asia Minor, there called Pamphylia.

That the enterprise at the time appeared very serious, beset with hardships and danger, even at the outset, seems evident from the fact that young Mark deserted his more heroic seniors at the very threshold. Was the young man homesick; did family ties draw him back to his own in Jerusalem? Was it the wild, terrible mountain range, with its variety of dangers that frightened him? In youthful strength, he should have been more courageous than Paul and Barnabas. Apparently it was otherwise. In the eyes of Paul this desertion, at this juncture was well nigh inexcusable. We take it that physically Paul was a weak man. But there was in him an indomitable spirit, filled by the love of God. Thus he knew no fear. He could not pardon John Mark's timidity. No hardships of the journey before him discouraged him. Let the Taurus be ever so forbidding; if the people there were perhaps worse than savages; if the mountain torrents were ever so treacherous; if the atmosphere, the temperature, the climate was full of malaria and exceedingly enervating, Paul could

say: none of these things move me. He had now before him, what at a later date he could tell of as actual experience. Compare II. Cor. XI., 26–27. He probably had premonitions as clear as Mark, but resolutely he set out on the course that was set before him, into the heart of Asia Minor.

In modern times, men, when traveling, take notice of the beauties or grandeur of nature, and they have much to tell of hardships and the innumerable privations and disagreeable occurrences, in countries much less inhospitable than Pamphylia was in those days. Paul never as much as alludes to any such things. Under a burning sun, on roads perhaps impassable, faint with fever—as seems actually to have been the case with him on his arrival in "Galatia," comp. Gal. IV., 14, corrected translation—in spite of all these things he pushed on towards Antioch. He and Barnabas came from Antioch and went to Antioch. The first was a notable city in Syria. In the second they might expect to find countrymen, acquaintances or friends.

Still weak from illness, Paul lost no time to begin his missionary work. He addressed himself to his own people. They were sufficiently numerous to have a synagogue. The contents of his first sermon preached in Asia Minor, are preserved by St. Luke. After a suitable introduction, and reminiscences of the history and mission of Israel, the Apostle tells boldly of Christ's death and resurrection and messianic mission. His preaching was plain, straightforward, fearless, with direct application.

The effect was phenominal. The Jews began to think. Some believed. In fact it is evident that many of them accepted Christ. And the gentiles became interested. The whole city was moved. Wonderful! A poor stranger, perhaps in appearance an ugly little Jew, feeble, with physical defects, has brought on a commotion that extends in all directions, to all classes. It is always difficult to rouse people from spiritual lethargy. Religion, in the sense of the apostles, is not desired by carnal man. Yet notice the effect there:

"And the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region."

Then came persecution. One would expect in consequence discouragement and gloom. The reverse is noticed. These new converts were full of joy. It was the work of the Holy Ghost. Thus was born the first church in Asia Minor. Instantly it became a mother church. After Jerusalem, and Antioch in Syria, the third mother church.

At Iconium the effect seems to have been still more powerful. The very chaste, simple, and brief report of St. Luke tells of "a great multitude of Jews and Greeks who believed." And it was no transient excitement. The Apostles, in spite of persecution, remained there a "long time." Under such circumstances even persecution served to spread the Gospel. Agitation, pro and con, would arrest men's attention. As in Antioch, the Apostles were free to turn to gentiles, when Jews refused to believe. So here too, the whole city was divided. A modern writer would make much more of this than does St. Luke. In the light of subsequent history his account is extremely modest.

There exists an additional and unexpected proof of this. A very old book, apocryphal though it be, and questionable in many of its legendary details, has an undoubted historic basis. This basis refers plainly to facts connected with Paul's work in Iconium, as we may see later on. Here we must not forget the evident fact, that from this high ground of Apostolic labors, streams of Gospel blessings descended in all directions, on those regions of Asia Minor. To attain this result even cruel persecutions were tributary. And clearly it was an advantage, that the missionaries could readily escape from the jurisdiction of magistrates in one city, and continue to preach in another.

In this way they came to Lystra. Here the strangest experience was before them. The effect of an apostolic miracle attracted attention, to such an extent, that they were taken for gods. Preparations were made to offer up sacrifices in their

honor. Paul and Barnabas barely succeeded to prevent this. Scarcely was this danger averted, when they were exposed to danger from an entirely opposite source. Jewish enemies raised a riot against them. Instead of wreaths a moment before, now stones as missiles were hurled at them. Paul succumbed. As he lay prostrate on the ground, they dragged him out of the city, as one dead. It looked now as if this was the end of Paul's career. Full of anguish, his friends surrounded the apparently dead apostle. Probably they were praying, to find relief in their sorrow. Probably there was a boy there named Timothy. Possibly he ran for water to wash the blood from the wounded head of poor Paul. He revived. He arose. He returned to the city, undismayed. Peerless in all missionary reports these verses, 20–23 of St. Luke, stand unique. Sparing words, as if chiseled in stone, the powerful effect of these apostolic labors is not related, only hinted at. Before his wounds had time to heal, Paul with his friends was off for Derbe. Here too, he was incessant in his labor. "And when they had preached the Gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to *Lystra* and to *Iconium* and to *Antioch,* confirming the souls of the disciples and exhorting them to continue in the faith. They did not try to make the Christian life appear pleasant. On the contrary, they made no secret of its serious realities, as "we must through much tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God." Nor was this all. While they insisted on the full spiritual life of the individual Christian, they were churchly, they were churchmen. Hence the formal organization of the churches was not neglected. They revisited every church organized. There must have been a considerable number of these. They placed elders, ordained elders, over the churches, thus providing for their regular spiritual ministrations. In this we have full proof that the work begun was in no way ephemeral. It was as a leaven, introduced into the masses of those heterogeneous populations.

This is the first report. It contains much more than is ex-

pressed in words. It tells of seed sown abundantly. It even tells of the ingathering of the first fruits of Asia Minor. Its evangelization had begun in an effectual manner. Those uncultured people proved a fertile field for such devoted missionary work. The movement, now carried forward by self-maintaining churches, made continued progress, even without the personal presence of the first missionaries.

It will pay to take another look at those cities and the work accomplished there. Antioch, Iconium and Lystra were strategic points. The first named was important as a governmental city. Iconium, noted not only as the city of the Acta Pauli et Theclæ, but for many centuries afterward in ecclesiastical and secular history. At Lystra Paul found his truest and most devoted fellow-laborer, the youthful Timothy, whom he reminds twenty years later: "But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, longsuffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came to me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra, what persecutions I endured."

When the tired Apostle is ready to say his last word to his beloved Galatians, before he lays down his pen, he begs of his readers: "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Certainly we may believe that he alludes to the effects of that cruel stoning at Lystra.

Yes, those were heroic days, ever memorable, at the cradle of the first churches of Asia Minor, when Paul and Barnabas retraced their steps, in those hot regions, twenty miles from Derbe to Lystra; forty miles from Lystra to Iconium, and sixty miles from Iconium to Antioch, to strengthen the souls of those newly won disciples, the first fruits of Asia Minor. After this "first flight of the young eagle," Paul with Barnabas returned to the city in Syria, from which they had started, to report "all that God had done with them and how he had opened the door of faith unto the gentiles."

This report caused a sensation. No wonder. It was epoch making. Its echoes were heard in and from Judea. There

was some confusion in the camp of the Church of Christ, still so young and inexperienced. It became necessary then that the counsel in Jerusalem was held. There the Apostles were to decide whether the gentiles had to come to the new covenant through the portals of the old, Acts XV.

The first missionary journey to the heart of Asia Minor had been so rich in results, that Paul with Silas soon started on a second tour with the same object in view. First of all, Paul revisited the scenes of his former labors, to nourish and encourage the churches founded. At Lystra he was joined by Timothy, now as many years after a fast friend of Paul. No doubt the Apostle was gratified to find that the churches had survived. They were now "established in the faith and increased in numbers daily." Thus the Church had gained a firm foothold in the interior of Asia Minor. The seed sown had germinated and promised a rich harvest. But alas, too soon the enemy came to sow the tares. Jewish notions soon were in conflict with Christian principles. This was no fault of Paul. He had planted and he had watered as a good husbandman.

We are further told that the Holy Ghost forbade the Apostle at this time to preach the Gospel in "Asia." Here again we must remember that a vast part of western Asia Minor, was simply called *Asia,* there being a large province that was thus designated. In this province we find a few decades later a number of churches, the origin of which is unknown to us. We may be safe, however, in supposing that they originated in connection with Paul's labors in Ephesus, after he returned from Greece. It is evident that there too, on the western coast of Asia Minor, Paul found a fertile field for his labors.

Prior to Paul's missionary work at Ephesus, that remarkable man, Apollos, had been there, teaching and taught, and immensely useful. Similar to him, there were some twelve men, disciples also of John the Baptist, who now became Christians in the full sense of the word. Thus encouraged, the Apostle taught in the synagogue for three months. In so

short a time a band of believers had been gathered, who were ready to leave the synagogue. Then for two years the Apostle made use of the school of one Tyranus, so effectually, that in spite of adversaries, all the Jews and Greeks in the whole of the vast province called Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus. An immeasurable success indeed, and probably in close connection with the origin of the churches spoken of in Revel. II. and III. Remarkable miracles are recorded as having occurred there. That the Gospel made a powerful impression is apparent too from the fact that a large mass of cabalistic books, used for improper purposes, were brought forward and burned publicly, even to the value of 50,000 pieces of silver. No wonder, Paul remained longer than he had intended. No wonder too, that a trades union was stirred up to cause a riot, since Demetrius and his craftsmen felt that their business had begun to suffer. All this indicates the success of the Gospel in that whole region during those three years.

When we remember that somewhat later Timothy took up the work in Ephesus, and that still later and for many years St. John lived and labored there, we can infer how the whole region was permeated by the Gospel in the first century. Along with Ephesus, Pergamos, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, Thyatira, Laodicea, and near this Colossae, we have churches, which, before the death of St. John at Ephesus, had had a history. In fact, most had already declined, not having maintained the high spiritual standard enjoyed in earlier and better days. Some of them languished and were severely censured. With their outward organization complete, they were dead while they had the name of being alive. The one censured most severely, without a word of commendation, Laodicea, was dangerously near to Colossae. A letter by Paul to this church has been lost. During the life time of one generation they had lost their first love.

But even such a decline during the first century seems to be an indication of the great dissemination of the Gospel in

Asia Minor before the death of some Apostles. Some—for St. John was not the only one who lived to see these effects of apostolic preaching. St. Peter writing a letter "to the strangers in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia" was aware not only of the existence of churches in these countries, but also of their spiritual needs and dangers. How surprising: in all these vastly extended regions, there were to be found Christians and Christian churches, during the life time of these Apostles!

The missionary successes in Japan during the last forty years, are indeed remarkable; but with those of Asia Minor in a like period of the first century they can never be compared.

No less a writer than the younger Pliny is an involuntary witness to the permeating force of the early church. About A. D. 112 he was governor of Bithynia, a province that had not been touched, as far as we know, by any apostle. Nevertheless, this eminent and wise statesman was at his wits end in view of the spread of the Christian religion in his day. He reports to the emperor in Rome, that in Asia Minor not only the *cities,* but also the *villages** were becoming a prey to the "new superstition." He was troubled, because the *temples were forsaken.* There was no demand for sacrificial animals, although he had already taken energetic steps against the Christians. What more could he do? He asked for further instructions from his imperial master. Neither Pliny nor Trajan relished the persecution of the Christians, but it

* The Roman Statesman thus bears witness, that in his day the *cities* were first Christianized, and that the peasant population followed the example of the cities. We find the same order some centuries later, in Germanic countries, of which we have evidence in both the English and the German languages. When the urban population had become professedly Christian, the more backward people dwelling in the "heath" were still unconverted. Hence they were called "heathen." (As in German, "Heiden" from *Heide.*) This missionary practice is in keeping with St. Paul's own method. In Asia Minor he began in the cities, Antioch, Ikonium, Lystra, Derbe and Ephesus. In Europe, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, Rome. Some modern sects seem afraid of the cities.

seemed absolutely urgent that some effective means were employed to stop the spread of the new religion.

There are still other sources of information in regard to this. Even apocryphal books may have historical value. The "Acta Pauli et Theclae" are in one particular confirmed even by Theodor Mommsen, the most exact of historians. It appears certain that these *Acta* have a real historical basis. It is freely admitted, that in the present form this book contains much that is legendary and unreliable. But even in this form it throws light on the state of the early church. Tertullian already knew the book and its author. So it comes down to us from the first or second century. And the historic facts in it must be even much older. They must have had a real connection with St. Paul's preaching at Iconium.

As near as the original contents can be gathered and put together, they may be given briefly as follows. When Paul, on his first journey, had fled from Antioch, a pious man, Onesiphorus, had a dream that the Apostle was coming to Iconium. He went to meet him. And just as he had seen him in his dream, so now he beheld him in reality. He took him to his own house. There Paul lived and preached. There the band of believers met and prayed and communed. Beside this humble home, arose the mansion of a rich neighbor, of high rank and influential. His daughter, Thecla, could see from her room those meetings in the house of Onesiphorus. And she heard Paul's preaching. She was moved and experienced a change of heart. Her soul, thirsting for God, found peace in the Christ whom Paul preached. Thus she became estranged from her former friends. All earthly affairs were now of no interest to her. She grew cold to her lover, and became alienated from her family. They had Paul imprisoned. Bribing the officials, Thecla gained access to the Apostle, and was more fully taught the way of life. She was discovered. Paul was scourged and banished from the city. Thus it was expected that Thecla would be won back to her former way of living. In vain. All the persuasion of parents,

lover and friends, failed to win her back to the heathen life. Nor could she be forced to leave the Saviour. At last she managed to escape from Iconium, followed by Thamiris, her betrothed. He succeeded to overtake her. She prayed, and escaped. In her endeavors to find Paul she came to Antioch. As she entered this city, she was met by the High Priest of the same. It was on a festival. The high ecclesiastic, under the influence of wine, became infatuated by her beauty. Supposing that she was a common woman, he embraced and kissed her. To free herself from his embraces, she tore his calotte. This enraged him. She was arrested. Later, sentence was pronounced on her. She was to be delivered to the wild beasts before the close of the festival. But before the sentence could be executed, influential parties interested themselves and interceded for her. Especially did the women take her part, particularly the queen, who vouched for Thecla's appearance. This queen, Typhaena, had seen in a dream, her daughter, lately deceased, and had been told by the same, to take Thecla, and adopt her, in place of the departed.

It was against the queen's wish that Thecla was led to the stadium. In the arena she was, as was customary, tied to a stake, entirely nude, excepting the cincture around her loins. She prayed: My Lord and my God, father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou art the refuge of all the persecuted, the friend of all in distress! Behold, oh Lord, I stand exposed before all these people, to the disgrace of all womanhood! Remember me, oh, Lord, in this hour. Then she was delivered to the beasts. But the main one of these, a powerful lioness, refused to harm her. A bear approaching was thrust back by the lioness. This brute, with unwonted kindness, undertook to protect Thecla against all the savage animals. Then came a terrible thunderstorm, that extinguished the flames, which had burned the ropes and scattered her enemies. Tryphaena fainted. Thecla was permitted to depart, for fear of Claudius, then Emperor in Rome, to whom Tryphaena was related. She now took Thecla fully under her protection, in fact she took

her into her own household. How long she remained with the queen is not stated. Her further career is rather obscure. According to some accounts, she is said to have preached and taught and brought many to Christ. But statements in the various manuscripts are contradictory and burdened with many legendary miracles, so it seems impossible to get at the real facts. With all this there remains a historic basis, of actual occurrences, even in details, now well established.

So the name Tryphaena. She belonged to a dynasty which existed in Asia Minor, in the time of the early emperors. This much is certain, although from literature no knowledge has survived in regard to the same. Knowledge concerning this dynasty must have been lost, even before the middle of the second century.

What then, can we know of the same, in the twentieth century? The reply is: in the first place, from the book spoken of. In the second place, from inscriptions and coins. Von Sallet, Waddington and Mommsen have furnished the proof that such a queen actually lived in the time of St. Paul in Asia Minor. Also that she was related to the Emperor Claudius. So at this late day this piece of Christian antiquity has been confirmed.

What has been said in the preceding pages, occurred for the most part in the large "Provincia Galatia." Reference was made too, to the churches in that large western province called *"Asia."* The third of the large provinces was *Cappadocia,* to the east of Galatia. North of this we find Pontus, southward, Cilicia, approaching nearest to Syrian Antioch.

It is worth while to glance at Cappadocia, in this connection, even though in so doing, we exceed somewhat the period under consideration. As in North Africa, so in this great territory, we are ignorant as to the starting of churches, whose subsequent history is well known. And here, as there, the church flourished at a comparatively early date.

As with Galatia, so with Cappadocia, the boundaries were variable and were changed in different periods. In the time

of which we are thinking, this province may have been about 250 miles in length by 150 from north to south. It was a despised country. Karia, Krete and Kappadocia were said to be the three bad K's. The ancients told of a viper, which bit a Cappadocian, and died from this self-indulgence. But if those people were despised by other nations, they were selected by God. "For God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; and base things of the world and things which are despised, hath God chosen." It is God's way, quite often, that the last shall be first. So in Acts, II, 9, Cappadocia is the first country named, of those in a westerly direction, from which people were present at the pentecostal miracle. It is a legitimate inference, that among those 3,000 baptized, there may have been some from this vast country. In this way the Gospel may have been brought there. Or, there may have been early missionaries, nameless, or to us unknown, who planted the church in those regions. St. Peter must have had them in mind when he wrote his first epistle, addressed also to them. I, Peter I, 1. That despised Cappadocia was abundantly blessed of God, became known in the third and fourth century, when the church appears there as a fruitful garden.

There we find flourishing churches, which have given Christendom some of her greatest teachers and church fathers. There was Caesaria, with a population of 400,000 apparently nearly all Christian. When the day of small things was passed, a weak bishop had to make room for the great Basil, who in spite of most powerful enemies remained steadfast to the end. Firm as a rock he stood by the truth as he saw it. The emperor was determined to break him, or his influence. He failed. The proud empress threatened to have his liver torn out of his body. He quietly replied: "Do so! It has given me much trouble for a long time." The brother of Basil the great, Gregory of Nyssa, was scarcely inferior to him as a teacher of the ages. Another one of the "three great

Cappadocians," Gregory of Nazianzen, is known in history as the *Theologian.* His father was a rich man, of Christian ancestors, a member of a seventh-day sect. His mother, Nonna, stands out as one of the great, good women of the ages. She had won her husband, the elder Gregory to the true faith. She had lived with him as bishop forty-five years. He died kneeling in prayer A. D. 374, almost a hundred years old. His greater son had in Cappadocia received the inestimable blessing, and has been a blessing beyond his time and beyond his country.

From all that has been said, it is evident that the countries of Asia Minor had an abundant share of Gospel days. But the Master keeps his word, when he promises and when he threatens. This is shown too by examples of Ephesus, Laodicea and by the whole of Asia Minor.

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IV.

DOCTRINAL PREACHING.

CONRAD CLEVER, D.D.

It is next to impossible to realize the marked contrast between the preaching of the present and that which characterized the ages when the giants of the pulpit contended for the faith delivered to the saints, or bombarded sin with the broadsides of the Gospel. With these latter there may have been an over emphasis of doctrine. There may have been such a want of flesh and blood that the spirit of revolt has been justifiable. However, as in all revolts, there is room for the inquiry as to whether the swing has not been so severe that we are scarcely able to give a reason for the existence of the church, or the need of what in other ages was called a triumphant faith. This is not an age showing much patience with creeds and catechisms. It insists that there is an earnest call for lives in the right with honest doubt, more than for a need for men who can give a reason for the faith that is within them. In accomplishing this there has been a false emphasis laid upon practical Christianity, forgetting that all great ages of revival have resulted from a strenuous preaching of doctrines.

There is a profound truth in the watchword of Neander—The heart makes the theologian. But what modern scholar gave such diligence to the study of the doctrines that had been enshrined in the ecumenical creeds. A well-rounded man must know as well as feel. His reading must be in the Holy Scriptures, and he must be instant in season and out of season in giving attention to doctrines. A contrary state was feared by the Apostles. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts, and will turn away their ears from the

truth, and turn aside unto fables. Christianity must always encourage investigation. It courts criticism. There can be no salvation that will not include the whole man. God is to be loved with all the mind, as well as with all the soul. An unthinking Christian would be as much of an anomaly as a heartless one. Every man must be a theologian. Those who eschew dogmas most strenuously, insisting that there is no room for them in an age or character that is wholly possessed by the Spirit, are always the most dogmatic. "Those who sneer at theology, if they think at all on the relations of the human soul to God, cannot escape the necessity of finding some answer to the questions that theology attempts to solve, even if the answer is that the questions are insoluble." When abstract doctrines are simply intellectually apprehended, producing no impulse to better living, the whole movement will simply end in a glacier, which however beautiful will freeze to death the affections that fired sacred service with enthusiasm. That these have been and are efficacious to the generation of that faith that subdues kingdoms and works righteousness is a matter of history, as well as of experience. "Terms like atonement and justification have a technical and abstract sound, which gives offence to many minds; but the truths which they embody, so far from being abstract are in close and concrete contact with the whole of human life." It is impossible to conceive of a living church, which will witness in a super-eminent way for the truth, that will not be able to present a systematic development of what is generally understood by the doctrines of Christianity, and which have grown by legitimate logical processes out of the teachings of Christ, by means of intellects that have been actuated by the influences of the Holy Ghost. The materials for this process we have furnished once for all in the Old and New Testaments. To the law and the testimony must every doctrine submit. But however hoary with age it must also submit to a new adjustment. For this science, and discovery, and growing experience cry out with all the passion of an infant in the night. Amid

all this movement there must be something that abides. Where shall this be found if not in the doctrines that have been the inspiration of the best energy that has been expended in the past for the advance of the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ. When the old order is changing, there is a feeling that the new should not be so radical that the old will be entirely wiped out. Just here is the justification for doctrinal preaching.

The whole trend of the modern pulpit is away from this. No science has suffered so unmercifully at the hands of modern thinkers as dogmatics. That which but a little while ago was regarded as the queen of the sciences, and as that particular form of thinking that articulated the whole scheme of Christian science has come to be regarded as such an insignificant thing as to be thought hardly worth preservation. Professor John Stuart Blackie contemptuously remarks—How many thousands and tens of thousands of books on Christian theology have been written and published in the world that if they were all burnt to-morrow, would leave Christianity in the main nothing the worse, and in some points essentially better. There has been a violent separation between the ethical and the dogmatical as though these were absolutely contrary the one to the other. These are not for a moment to be regarded as spheres of thought, which are in any sense concentric and permeating each other at many points. Because of this unfortunate divorcement of that which God joined together with heaven's choicest benediction, men insist upon having the ethical and practical, and will not touch, so much as with their little fingers, anything that savors of the doctrinal. Dogmas have come to be associated with such ages as bred inquisitions and manufactured thumbscrews, and with a fear that becomes at times insane are to be eschewed. Vinet says in substance somewhere that the Reformers preached the doctrines with an ethical content, which made them like feathered arrows reaching the secret recesses of the human heart. The scientist with all his boasted freedom from preconceived ideas

must have a theory, which, for the time being, is as central for his thinking as the creed of an Augustine or a Jonathan Edwards. When this motive for doctrinal preaching will have become the necromancy of the pulpit there will be no need to defend it as now.

It is just possible that there is a decay of doctrinal preaching in response to the wishes of the pews. Here there is a lack of grip that will enable the occupant to wrestle with the problems of God and man, in their relation to each other. Congregations, for the most part, do not wish to gird themselves for a climb into the regions where they will have to take off their shoes, because of the holy ground upon which they must tread. "In many active and devoted Christian circles the notion prevails that the study of theology is rather a luxury for the Christian believer and worker especially if he be a layman." The sermonic efforts that are the most highly appreciated, where such sentiments are regnant, will be closely along the line of the undoctrinal. The practical element is so loudly extolled that the doctrinal is relegated to a class who are regarded as out of tune with the best of this generation. A cultured ministry is wanted, not a learned, especially not one learned in theology, unless it keeps its learning out of its preaching, save perhaps on great occasions.

Systems of dogmatic theology fall, in large part, still-born from the press, unless denominational pride by advance subscriptions floats the first edition, when feeling that a denominational literature is necessary for the existence of the denomination. The preaching, generally popular, even in the Reformed Church, touches with a canny hand the doctrines enshrined and crystallized in the Catechism, which we have all promised to preach, and defend. An announcement that the pastor would preach for fifty-two successive Sundays on the Heidelberg Catechism would send a chill up the backbone of the sturdiest Reformer, and would make the resignation by a comparatively unanimous vote comparatively easy to get through. Now, giving place to no one for a moment, in feel-

ing the need for a real emphasis of the practical side of Christianity, in so far as it is legitimated by the New Testament, is there not a crying need for a stronger flavor of doctrinal instruction from the pulpit, in order to save the Church from getting away from its moorings, through the malice of the devil and the cunning craftiness of unbelievers whereby they lie in wait to deceive? A Church with a conquering faith and doctrinally drilled so as to give a reason for its position among the churches of the world "is as much stronger than a Church that has life of its own, but no theology of its own, as a man whose activity is characterized both by enthusiasm and conviction is stronger than one who is solely under the sway of emotion."

As a justification for this dogmatico-phobia, it has been maintained that there is an irresistible conflict between the teaching of Jesus and that of His Apostles. He only taught religion without any metaphysics or systematical development, but the disciples, under the inspiration of the Greek masters of thought taught theology. The plant world necessitated botany when men began to think and classify. It followed as necessarily, as an intellectual stage follows the earlier stage of development in the child life. There must be a living process of scientific examination advancing alongside of the living process of faith. The day when things will be taken for granted will pass away, and then follows as day the night the scientific expression of the faith once delivered to the saints. Doctrines assume creedal and catechismic forms. Unbelief suggests inquiries in honest minds which can only be met by an intelligent affirmation of the truth in theological formulas. If there should be found a strain of the dogmatic in the teaching of Christ, as in the fourth Gospel for instance, it is charged to the writer of the Gospel, or stricken out as the work of a later redactor. If among the Pauline letters there should be found a page that is all aglow with the fragrance of the Sermon on the Mount, it is looked upon as an accident, or worse still as an impossibility upon such a Procrustean bed of

dogmatics. No one can follow the course of later theology without feeling that there is a gulf, well nigh as unbridgable as that between Dives and Lazarus, existing between the ideas of Christ and those of His Apostles.

It is certainly impossible to separate religion and theology. Man's mind can not lie dormant, while his soul mounts into the blazing empyrean seeking God, and inquiring what relations he sustains to him, and what responsibility these relations involve. Where the heart is there will the mind be also; but it is likewise true that where the mind is there will the heart be also. Whether religion be regarded as thought, or as a feeling of tranquil dependence upon some higher power, it must rely for support upon a conscious apprehension of that power. The intellectual apprehension of that object as true is one integral element of religion. In other words religion is practically inseperable from theology." Lactantius said: Religion is the bond between God and man's nature: in God the heart finds its happiness, reason the rule of truth, the will its freedom.

No young graduate of a theological seminary fails to experience a shock, when he realizes the duality existing between his theological education and the pulpit efforts that win him a place among the elect. It is felt in his studies later on, else it would be an irrefutable argument advanced by those who would discredit theological education because of its doctrinal loyalty. What relation, for instance, between the Institutes of the Christian religion and the preaching of those whose verdant minds are still fresh from the instructions of such a past master of dogmatic science? We all water our theological stock before we place it on the market, and the commodity, which we parcel out, is of such a weak dogmatic constituency that it would not bring the one half of one per cent. in a third grade theological seminary.

This arises from a feeling that the doctrines of Christianity possess dialectic importance, but are of comparative insignificance in giving the Christian life that structural force, which

enables it to overcome the gigantic forces of error in other days. It is to be regretted that long periods of Christian history have been practically lifeless, while there has been intense thought upon the great doctrinal themes of religion. Thought and life have been seemingly divorced. But a return to the normal relations between the two lobes of the Christian heart and life will never be reached, by casting to the winds the thoughtful apprehension of that truth, which has been held by the community of Christian believers. There have been times when there was such an overemphasis of the miraculous that the natural was so completely submerged, that transcendentalism became the ruling conception. A one-sided apprehension of the supernatural ended in a Docetic Christ and Christianity. The return to a proper apprehension of Christ as the Son of Man, the Divine—human in the Scriptures and the office of the natural in Christianity will not be gained by rejecting the supernatural altogether. Neither will the play of the practical element in Christianity be assigned its proper place by cutting away entirely from the dogmatic.

The new impetus given to modern thought by evolution, applied to theologic, economic and social life, has largely discounted the value of doctrines. In the degree that the miraculous disappears from the vision, the force of doctrines fades from the mind of the Church. Darwin himself said: "A science without mystery is unknown; a religion without mystery is absurd," yet the premises laid down in the "Origin of Species" and the "Descent of Man" force many men to the conclusion that the miraculous is not necessary for the teleologic perfection of human nature.

The repugnance to doctrinal preaching arises in part also from the demands for something that will not require too much thought. The inquiry predominant among a people returning from the house of God is, how did you enjoy it? It is contended that owing to the strenuosity of modern life the mind on the Lord's Day must be relaxed. Men will not come to hear preaching, if they be required to think intently, even

though it be upon the gravest themes of Christianity. Wealth and luxury have pervaded the sacred precincts of the sanctuary. The way to heaven must be made as easy as possible to the mind. Gifts will flow into the treasury, with unstinted munificence, but beyond that there must be pleasure. The late Dr. Dale of Birmingham, England, who made doctrinal preaching for a long life a matter of conscience, tells of meeting a well known preacher in his younger days who said to him I hear that you are preaching doctrinal sermons to the congregation at Carr's Lane; they will not stand it. I answered: They will have to stand it. In a day when enjoyment is too frequently mistaken for worship; when song and ceremony have taken the place of penitence and sacrifice, we need not wonder if the preacher yields to the popular clamor. It is ten fold easier for a sleepy conscience to listen to a discourse upon some current topic with a prelude upon some popular movement than an exposition of the seventh chapter of Romans. But to follow a well-connected discourse reasoning upon the Atonement, the Mediatorship or a Judgment to come means an unworldliness to which the majority of professing Christians are strangers. The minister who will reason of righteousness and judgment to come will need to be much in prayer and study. The great doctrines of the creeds and catechisms are insipid to the easy-going crowd that frequent the Church for enjoyment, or for a season of rest from the turbulence and strain of business and social life. The people are not longing for great thoughts. They refuse to be troubled with a Christian exercise that would challenge all their intellectual and spiritual being. These would take sleep from the eyes and slumber from the eyelids, and men would be found crying out Men and brethren, what must we do to be saved?

Philosophy and theology are not in such juxtaposition, that when theology begins philosophy must end but are inseparable parts of one and the same intellectual process. The repugnance to doctrinal preaching springs from a desire to ease the conscience, because the life has not been fashioned according

to the pattern shown on the mount. An age holding unwaveringly to the eternal verities crystallized in ecumenical creeds and catechisms, lacking but a shade of ecumenicity, can not be an age of unfruitfulness. We are not now thinking of an age when formalism has captured the soul, and the Church has fallen upon such evil times that the spirit has ceased to convince of sin, and righteousness, and judgment to come. Such a state may exist when all the genial currents of the faith-life are chilled. But eternal verities can manifest themselves in a practical Christian life. Paul, the dogmatist and correspondent, need not be separated from Paul the missionary and friend. The same spirit that wrote the earlier chapters of the epistle to the Romans also wrote the thirteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians. Imagine a great Christian warrior to be fed upon such pabulum, as is dealt out from a pulpit dedicated to the preaching of the ethical and practical at the expense of the dogmatical. It would be like feeding a giant upon pap or giving strength to a wrestler by having him dandled on the knees of prodigality.

The question naturally arises. Is it possible to present these great verities of the Christian creed, so that they will be apprehended by men of ordinary intelligence? That there has been a tendency, too frequently, to produce treatises upon doctrines in a jargon that had no affiliation with the life of an ordinary man, has been felt by those who had a passionate desire to preach the Gospel. The day for such is passed. The effort has been to write dogmatics so as to make it interesting. One of the latest has been in such a fascinating style, that one who had read many books upon doctrines confesses to an inability to take up another book, till this one had been finished. This will prove a Godsend to young students for the ministry, and save a long suffering people from despair. These bony skeletons, so necessary to save us from a jelly-fish type of Christianity, can live. They can be clothed with flesh and blood, so that men will feel that they are controlling forces in

developing a sturdy Christian character. People must understand that Christianity is the King's business, and that men can never be saved on a diet of broad grins. The audiences that hung upon the Apostles' preaching were drinking in the very strongest food. Those great preachers of the Apostolic Church, Peter, Stephen, Philip and Paul must have looked into the faces of men who said: Sirs, give us great truths. What they heard and believed was upon a plane high above anything that had ever entered into the heart of man to conceive. John Wesley caused tears to flow down the sooty faces of the colliers by giving them what he himself had gathered from the theological disquisitions which moved the ancient world, grown coward and old in the splendid philosophies and ethical disquisitions of the Porch and Academy. When church attendance is valued for the pleasure it brings, rather than the penitence it excites or the righteousness it provokes, doctrinal preaching will be the butt of the wise and witty, and devotion will cease to be measured by the vision of God it vouchsafes.

After Dr. Dale had preached to his Birmingham congregation for many years dwelling upon such subjects annually as "The Incarnation," "The Deity of Christ," "The Personality of the Spirit" and others of the same type he had expounded in an orderly and systematic manner all the principal doctrines of the Christian faith. His testimony is: "So far from finding that a congregation will not stand doctrinal sermons, my experience is that such sermons, if of moderate length, are of great interest to large numbers of people." What mighty heart pulsations have been found in a people to whom the atonement has become a great reality. The anchor of the Christian is then cast within the veil, and is fastened to the everlasting Rock of Ages. But the atonement could not thus move the hearts and consciences of men, unless it had in a measure been intellectually understood.

It is necessary for the ministry to get a renewed and regenerated faith in the power of Apostolic doctrine. We have

been exercising our wits in showing how inadequate has been the manner of presenting these doctrines, instead of emphasizing our energies to present the doctrines themselves. So sweeping has this effect advanced, that we have forgotten the substance in our concern for the form. With the catechetical idea fallen into desuetude, with the pulpit waning before the choir, with the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven being taken by violence giving way to palace-car accommodations for the King's highway the current is dead set against doctrinal preaching. May it be that there is a hesitancy in introducing these doctrines in deference to a full rounded belief in them both in the pulpit and in the pew? Firmly believed by the preacher, and demanded by the people there would seem to be a natural and irresistible trend towards these fundamentals of the Bible. The exigencies of the times demand something that is not being delivered. Nothing will extricate the Church so effectually from weakness and malarious debility as the preaching of Peter and Stephen and Paul, of Origin, Gregory and Augustine, of Zwingli, Luther and Calvin, of Wesley, Edwards and Chalmers. These found themselves at home when dealing with what we have called in this article the doctrines of the Gospel. These must be rehabilitated in the minds and hearts of preacher and people. The people must be led up, so as to long for this strong meat of the word. It will be a long struggle, in the face of much that is popular and directly away from this standpoint. It must come if the Church is not to wane before a semi-Christian theology, which has became ethical instead of dogmatical, and which submerges the idea of other worldliness into the complete conquest of the things of time and sense. "In one word, the truth does not make us truly free—free for ourselves, and free for others—until it is truth not merely to our hearts, but also to our intellects; to make it which is the aim and work of Christian theology." The preachers, for an age of aggressive thinkers, will be those who can give a reason for their faith. They will

call men to think deeply and seriously till the fire burns within them. They will cry out with prophetic earnestness and high priestly authority. We know whom we have believed; and imparting such knowledge, the powers of darkness must give way and a new revelation of the Kingdom of God be vouchsafed to the spirit of humanity.

HAGERSTOWN, MD.

V.

THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

PROFESSOR CHARLES H. LERCH.

The name of Matthew Arnold is mentioned in some religious quarters with suspicion. When he lectured in this country, some years ago, he asked one of the trustees of The Union Theological Seminary in New York City to give him the privilege of looking into the workings of a school of the prophets on this side of the Atlantic. Thereupon he was shown the seminary. The then president of the institution, Roswell Dwight Hitchcock, seemed to be unusually puzzled in introducing the agnostic, as some of the students called the great English critic, and could do no better to offer as an apology for Arnold's appearance in a Christian pulpit than to eulogize his great father, Thomas Arnold—an idea which evidently did not please the son very much. Matthew Arnold was in an eminent sense the son of his father, but Thomas Arnold was in a no less eminent sense the father of a very remarkable son. Matthew Arnold does not suffer much in comparison with his great father, the once famous master of Rugby.

There is a dual nature in Arnold, the two parts of which when studied independently are in stronger contrast than they are in most men. The one aspect of that nature is the Arnold as he lived in the flesh; the other is the philosophical, the literary, the theological Arnold as he lived and walked in the spirit. His spiritual teaching, strictly adhered to by himself, could not have produced the warm-hearted man that he really was. He tried very hard intellectually to be heathen but was still Christian in spite of himself, as far as the outward manifestations of his life were concerned. He was a simple, good-hearted man, and in his manner of living not a

Hebrew, not a Greek. He loved humanity, and accomplished more in the direction of goodness by being good than some of his blatant critics. It was said that while lecturing in Baltimore he was somewhat stoical and would not melt; but it seemed as if the religious zeal of that city was trying to devour him.

If Arnold appeared cold to any one, he was not so to his friends. He may not have been such a saint as the Church canonizes, but then he was not the sinner whom it often rejects. Instead of being the stolid, indifferent critic he is often represented to have been, he was the warm friend, the faithful husband, the kind father, from the testimony of those who knew him best, and from his lovely and loving letters.

As a man of character, of noble qualities the Church could have been proud of him, even if as a theologian she could hardly have tolerated him. "Some of the views in his writings upon religious subjects were startling to orthodox churchmen," says Archdeacon Farrar, "but in spite of this he remained on terms of cordial friendship with the most eminent non-conformists. Whatever may have been their doctrinal divergences from his opinions, they saw that he wrote in a serious, sincere, and deeply reverent spirit. There was much to learn even from his writings on sacred subjects, and to the last he remained a reverent and regular attendant at church and at the Holy Communion." If this be true, asked a churchman, some time ago, how can the church explain such tolerance?

The church, in her tolerance towards Matthew Arnold is not guilty of an unusual offense. She has always had, and still has hundreds of men and women on her list of communicants, who were and are not one particle more orthodox, as far as her teachings go, than he was. She does not know the views or no-views which her members privately entertain, even if they publicly, and apparently assent to her tenets. But there is no mistake to be made in the case of Arnold. He not only had decided views on religious matters, which some

latter-day pharisees and hypocrites would keep to themselves, but like the honest and frank searcher after truth that he was, he took special pains to make them known. He was not afraid to enter into a controversy with any of the leaders of the church and to show them his exact position on religious and church matters. It is an open question whether Christianity in general suffers more from those who are unorthodox from the Church's point of view, but who still claim that by the propagation of their views Christ's interests are enhanced, than from those who are nominally only Christians but who do not stand for much in reality.

If Matthew Arnold was not straight in his orthodoxy, he was in his manner of life. He was a man of character which is a great deal more than can be said of a good many church members. His demands upon himself were high; his idealism was a lofty one. The church needs character quite as much as theology and doctrine. If Arnold contributed anything to the religious life of England, he did in not a small way from his personal side. The church is not consistent if she closes her doors to such transparent characters as that of Arnold and opens them widely and cordially to men and women who not only have no creeds but no characters.

Arnold who did not believe in the Christ whom Christians worship, lived at least the Christ whom they often profane by their actions. We do not have any evidence that he ever made such a spectacle of selfishness and bigotry of himself as some churchmen have done and still do. Men like Huxley and Arnold and others of their stamp builded better than they knew. If they did not make as good a showing in black and white as some good Christians seem to do, they at least gave a good account of themselves in flesh and blood.

There is a strong contrast between the methods of religious thinking of Matthew Arnold and of such a man as Dwight L. Moody. Arnold had mostly contempt for Moody's ideas of the Christian warfare, if he had not contempt for the man himself. The test to which Arnold put every man's work

was the purely intellectual one, which can not be applied very seriously to Mr. Moody's theology or preaching. He refers to Mr. Moody in his lecture upon Emerson when he was commenting upon the New England philosopher's saying, "What attracts my attention shall have it." "Well, that is our people's plea," adds Arnold, "when they run after the Salvation Army, and desire Messrs. Moody and Sankey." "Our people are very good in following conscience; when these are not so good in ascertaining whether their conscience tells them right." Arnold is opposed to religious excitement. He tries to probe every possible realm of truth with his intellect. He thinks he does not believe where he can not see. Moody accepts everything which the Bible teaches in its most literal and crudest sense. He is on perfectly familiar terms with God and is sure that he knows God's will quite intimately. To him special providences are every-day experiences. Arnold has only contempt for such intimacies and is content with calling God a force which makes for righteousness, "a stream of tendencies by which all things strive to fulfil the law of their being." Arnold is daring and fearless to penetrate even the Holy of Holies, if he thinks some truth lies hidden there. Mr. Moody is satisfied with the word as it stands written and associates with himself men only who will apply the principles of interpretation mostly as he does. Arnold will have an answer to his scrutinizing questions or he will play the critic. His intellect goes up and down the waste and barren places of his spirit seeking rest and finding none. If he had only had a portion of the superabundance of faith which Moody so stoutly maintains! If he had only believed God with half the zeal Moody manifests, what an advocate the church and religion would have had!

It was said by one of Arnold's admirers that in religious matters he kept along well established lines. If this were true it would not reflect credit upon a great student. One who writes for the purpose of leading men must not simply keep in the grooves of ordinary thought, must not be simply reiter-

ating what has many times been said, and perhaps well said. This is not exactly the case. Arnold did not believe in a personal God; the average man, when not influenced by agnostic teaching, does. No man by searching, to be sure, can find out God, but Arnold's methods of research cause one to disclaim God. Arnold was positive however, if God was not a person, that he was a force for righteousness, as every one could see, "a stream of tendencies by which all things strive to fulfil the law of their being." He could get no further in the development of the idea of personality than that God was "a magnified and non-natural man, who likes and dislikes, knows and decrees, just as a man, only on a scale immeasurably transcending anything of which we have experience; and whose proceedings we nevertheless describe as if he were in the next street for people to verify all we say about him." That seems to be the height of his argument against personality. He criticises, as he only can, philosophers and theologians for being dogmatic and for building their philosophy and theology upon the supposition that God is a person.

But Arnold does not evidently see that he is equally dogmatic with the philosophers and theologians when he builds upon the assumption that God is a force, a stream of tendencies. The word force has a more elemental meaning for him than personality. To his intellect the idea that God is a force making for righteousness seems to convey more than that God is a person making for righteousness. And yet from the purely intellectual point of view, and that is the only one by which we can judge Arnold, what can be known of the ultimate nature of either force or personality? He cut himself free intellectually as much as possible from communion with God and hence he was denied the greatest privilege of the true Christian of knowing the personal God through the medium of life and of the intellect.

Arnold is at once then disqualified from being an authoritative critic of Christianity as a life because for him to live,

as far as he could intellectually help it and was persuading himself that he was helping it, was not Christ. We have a right to believe, if St. Paul had come across his path, that he would have said to the modern Corinthian what he did to those of his day, "we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block and unto the Greeks foolishness." Paul, as usual, would not have been wide of his mark, for Arnold was by training considerable of a Greek. This is not to be taken in a remote sense, because from his habit of thought he not only looked at Judaism and Hellenism at a distance and for philosophical purposes, but he so lived in them that he looked at all other civilizations with the Jew's and the Greek's eyes.

Arnold refuses to think of God as a personal Father and of Christ as the Divine Lord and Savior. He does not enjoy the restfulness and peace which comes to one whose life is in touch with Christ's. Hence in his poetry chiefly he cries out from a feeling of dissatisfaction and more than any other poet of his time seeks rest and finds none.

> Too fast we live, too much are tried,
> Too harassed, to attain
> Wordsworth's sweet calm, or Goethe's wide
> And luminous view to gain.

When trouble and grief come upon him, when death takes away from him that which is very near and dear to him he goes to Marcus Aurelius or some other heathen philosopher for consolation instead of to the Lord. Lowell says of Thoreau that he insisted on going back to flint when he had a match-box with matches in his pocket; so Arnold insisted on going back to the heathens for spiritual comfort instead of to the Lord of light and life.

Arnold does his best to disprove the divinity of Christ. He thinks that the reporters of Christ, as he calls those who recorded His sayings, were simply caught up by the apocalyptic spirit of the times and were so overawed by the superiority of Christ's personality and the wonderfulness of His

works that they ascribed to Him divinity. The idea of Christ's working miracles was pure hallucination with the Disciples. Arnold however believed in the historical Christ and regarded Him as a very superior man. He laid great emphasis upon the teachings of the Lord, especially upon their very practical side. "Conduct is three fourths of life," according to the gospel of St. Arnold. So sure is he of this arithmetical calculation that he repeats the saying again and again until it becomes almost proverbial. And yet with all his repetition, which is a characteristic of Arnold's style, and with all of his lucidity of expression it is not an easy matter to state a spiritual truth in terms of exact mathematics. We believe that it would be nearer the mark to say that conduct, good conduct, three-fourths of it, all of it, is the result of Christian living. The Christian man seeks The Life, in order that he may have it abundantly, and the outward manifestation of that life, the conduct, if you wish to call it so, will assume proportions to the real, inner life. Those of Arnold's persuasion aim first at conduct, it may be with them a matter of three fourths of life, and they will never have The Life from which flows all conduct. Given personality of the Deity, which Arnold will not grant, living in the presence of that Deity with love, reverence, and obedience, and conduct will be an afterthought. A man's conduct, good conduct may not perhaps constitute one tenth of his life if he does not feel himself responsible to a divine personality. It would be just as good theology to say that to one who feels no personal responsibility to a Higher Power expediency may be three fourths of life. All the spiritual teaching expressed in Arnold's best manner does not begin to wear with that imparted through the literary or unliterary styles of the New Testament writers of whom he spoke somewhat disparagingly. Two such sayings of St. Paul as, "the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God" and "I can do all things through Christ which strengthens me" are more fraught with mature thought and the possibilities of truth than all the Arnold anthology put together.

Matthew Arnold's chief occupation in life was inspecting the schools of England. Whatever leisure was left him from this work was devoted to literature and theology. One, who knows only the poet, the critic, the theologian, Arnold, hardly suspects that he was "a humble" inspector of schools, as he humorously called himself. What made his school reports so valuable, besides interesting, was that he did not gather his information at a distance but from a personal inspection of the schools. He came in contact as inspector with all classes and conditions of children and he saw the influence of education upon the poorest and the humblest in the lanes and byways of the great cities.

This touch of his life with the world's life had an ameliorating effect upon him and made him the sympathetic friend of the teachers and the taught in the most discouraging conditions of school-work. He looked at the schools of England in a different spirit from what he would have looked if he had received his information about them only at second-hand. Sir Joshua Fitch, who writes about the influence of the two Arnolds upon the educational work of their day, says that "from the official point of view, Matthew was not, it must be owned, an exacting inspector. If he saw little children looking good and happy, and under the care of a kindly and sympathetic teacher, he would give a favorable report, without inquiring too curiously into the percentage of scholars who could pass the standard examination."

Imagine now that Arnold would through necessity have been compelled to make a study of the religious life of England as he did of the school life; suppose that circumstances would have brought him face to face with the methods of the Salvation Army and the missionary work of Mr. Moody, would he have spoken of a great deal of the real, vital, religious work done for the masses as he did? Face-to-face inspection might have changed his mind. If he could have seen the wonderful influences of popular Christianity, which he held in contempt, upon the masses of humanity in down-town churches

and missions, he would not have thought of other theories by which mankind might be helped; yes if he had come under the direct influence of this best popular Christianity, and if he had opened his heart to its reception, as he always advocated the principle of self-abnegation in the search for truth, Mr. Moody might have converted him, he might never have written such irreverent books as "God and The Bible," "Literature and Dogma," and the church might have gained a mighty Apostle. As a writer on educational matters Arnold's reports are important; as a writer upon religious matters his word can not be taken seriously.

But a man, however erratic and mistaken in his views upon a subject, can not help but accomplish some good. He either by his one-sidedness makes clear the other-sidedness of the question under discussion, or shows the truth of a position by the absurdly false attitude which he takes towards it. Arnold, like most men, could not be great in all things. That he ranks high as a student of literature can not be doubted; that he does not rank high as a student of theology, is just as readily believed by those who will examine into the matter. He had not the time nor the opportunities to devote to the study of theology that the great specialists on that subject devote to it. Great as his researches were for a layman, they were not extensive and thorough enough to make his conclusions of much weight with men of learning. He was and is no doubt misleading to the superficial. His Hebrew and Greek were not such as the great commentators and editors in these languages possess.

Still he asked a great many questions which caused men to think hard about the faith which they thought they held. Such keen intellects as his was, even if they are perverted, serve their purposes. He made it very uncomfortable for those who adhere to the letter but have not too strong a hold upon the spirit for which the letter stands. It was said some time ago by a missionary in Utah that he took with him to a mormon meeting some students from one of our strongest

seminaries, and that he told them that after the meeting they would have the privilege of crossing swords with the apostles of polygamy. He found in almost every instance that the unprepared students came away from the conflict humiliated; they knew mormonism in general, but they never dreamed that so much could be said in favor of its malicious practices, and that along biblical lines. So many a believer is put to the test when called to witness for the faith that is in him by such a sharp and searching man as Arnold. Perhaps before reading Arnold he never knew that he believed as little as he did, and that what he believed might easily elude his grasp. The intellectual Christian, if he comes out safe from a study of Arnold will feel all the more strongly fortified in his Christian position. He will, perhaps, in all sincerity, be compelled to say, Him whom I have ignorantly worshipped, Arnold, the agnostic Arnold, has really preached to me.

Arnold has certainly helped, by his writings, to bring to the front some of the most recent methods of studying the Scriptures. He propounded so many puzzling questions to those theologians and students of the Bible who held to the literal, verbal inspiration, that serious-minded men of the old and the new schools of Biblical research were either compelled to evade him or find some intelligible explanation for their beliefs. Christianity has been more than once held up to double ridicule, first, by irreverent questioners, such as Arnold; second, by credulous students, who put up a lame and ridiculous defense in her behalf. Dr. Washington Gladden somewhere says that it is instructive to observe the ultra-conservative critics play steadily into the hands of the anti-Christian critics, furnishing them with ammunition with which to assail the very citadel of the Christian faith. Unprejudiced students will certainly appreciate the value if not the spirit of Arnold's examinations and cross-examinations of the witnesses of Christianity, and the earnest enthusiasm and desire on the part of men and women for a more searching investigation into the grounds of their own beliefs, which no

doubt have been engendered by his methods of examination. The best Bible students of the present day are well fortified to answer Arnold's questions, because the spirit and the manner of answering have changed greatly since the years when Arnold seemed to triumph over the literalists. We do not believe that he could shake the faith of any live, up-to-date Christian of the present time, not so much because of the erudition of the latter, or because of his advances in scholarship, as of a clear knowledge along which lines the emphasis for his faith must be put.

EASTON, PA.

VI.

REPORT OF THE REV. JACOB LISCHY TO BISHOP AUGUSTUS G. SPANGENBERG.*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY PROF. W. J. HINKE.

The *sixth* place was "*Modencrück*" (Muddycreek),[30] to which I was called by several elders. I preached the first time in the church from the passage: "His sweat was as drops of blood," with such inexpressible assurance and happiness, that their heads and hearts were carried away. They would not let me go, but implored me so long, until I accepted at once a call, signed by fifty men, among the signers were even confirmed separatists, who have since felt like pulling out their hair over it. I then preached a whole year among this wicked people, for they had the reputation of being the most wicked and godless people in the whole country. Hence the Separatists, Baptists and such like people said, if Lischy succeeds among these people we must believe that his work is of God. I continued to preach in this firm hope, brought about a Reformed organization of the congregation and installed elders among them. Some of them, however, conducted themselves so miserably by drinking and dancing that I was compelled to depose them from their office and excommunicate them before the public congregation as children of the devil and of hell. They submitted to it and were afraid to open their mouth. Then I would treat them with respect and make use

* Continued from the October number.

[30] According to the church record of the Muddy Creek congregation, opened by Lischy himself, he accepted the call tendered to him by four elders and more than forty members of the congregation on Thursday before Easter of 1743. On May 19, 1743, Eberhardt Riehm, "der Vorsteher und Helffer," together with four elders and 57 members signed the constitution of the congregation drawn up by Lischy. He remained the pastor of the congregation till May, 1745, when he acctepted a call to York.

of their love to me. For a whole year I could do with them what I wanted. They were always satisfied and loved me exceedingly, so that some of them said to my surprise, if they would give up Mr. Lischy, God should give them up. They would live and die with me, etc. With such compliments they often vexed me and yet I told them publicly and privately, that they were children of the devil, but that Jesus Christ our Saviour, could deliver and save them from all chains and bondage. This I represented to them very touchingly. I did nothing but preach, and did not pay special attention to them, nor was able to do so, because they were so much afraid of me that, when I wanted to visit them and speak to them before the Lord's Supper, they had either run away from home or received me with much trembling, so that I did not know whether the Saviour was working among them, until I heard finally that several among them showed signs of conversion. I even heard that they met and spoke with each other about spiritual things. They would not drink nor curse with the others, nor do similar things. Who knows, I heard the people say, perhaps they are even becoming Herrnhuters or Pietists. I promised my elders to investigate this matter and when I was through with it I had found that they were thoroughly awakened souls, earnestly concerned about the salvation of their souls. They related to me during what sermon they had been awakened so that they had felt their condemnation and, in view of God's curse and wrath, had not known what to do. Then they heard me say that in such a condition one should come to Jesus. This they took to heart, prostrated themselves at the feet of Jesus and at once received his pardoning grace. Others felt that they were still under the curse, and could not secure pardon. I was, therefore, compelled to further help these people. I asked them to meet at a certain time. We sat down upon a meadow and I said to them: My dear souls, let us now speak with each other fraternally and without reserve, forget that I am your pastor, lay the name aside, I am also a poor sinner, who enjoys God's

grace and I am glad when other souls reach the same condition. They gave me their fullest confidence and told me thoroughly the condition of their souls. An enemy was lying behind the fence who heard us. He at once made it known, which caused a great uproar. People said, now we see what this leads to. They call our pastor "thou," and he says, he is nothing but a poor brother. The one, they said, told, that he intended to hang himself, being in great despair, the other related he had received grace and the Holy Ghost at such and such a fence, the third told that he had found the Saviour at such and such a hedge and so forth. There was great excitement. I spoke on the subject in the church one day, intending to quiet them, but they would not give in. George Hegi arose and said: "What does this mean when people want to hang themselves." George Bibighaus, who had felt that way, arose and replied: "Did you never sing: Anguish drove me to despair." "Yes," he said, "but my guardian and my shepherd is the Lord." I told him from the pulpit: "You are an unconverted man, and since you have never felt any anguish about your misery you must be a child of the devil." That made him run out of church. Another one arose and said he had nothing against me, but he could not bear to hear the farmers call me "thou," was it not written in the Scriptures, that people should count the pastors worthy of double honor (I. Tim. 5:17). When I wanted to explain this to him he also ran out. The church was filled with people. I explained the whole matter to them, so that they became quiet and calm and, after the services, most of them went home well satisfied. However, Satan did not rest, but started one slander after another. I finally resolved to move to "Modencrück" to keep the awakened souls in the way of grace and to keep the enemies in check. I called the former together one day to lay this matter before them. They were all very happy over it and were willing to build me a house. We at once settled upon a lot, where a parsonage and school house should be erected. We drew up a writing which each one signed and, as half of

them were Lutherans, who did not want to appear as though they had become Reformed by signing their names to my paper, we agreed to appoint also Mr. Nyberg[31] as inspector over our intended undertaking, hoping that he would accept it. This he did and soon afterwards expressed his satisfaction in a letter. Now, in order not to make our enemies feel bad and not to make them think as though we intended to begin a new movement or separate from them, our resolution was read after the sermon to the assembled congregation and approved by all the people. But I soon noticed the secret plan of the devil, since most of the people favored the idea to erect the building near the Church in order to hinder our intended project. Hence I announced publicly that the house would be started to-morrow and would be put upon the lot which had been selected. Whoever wished to help would have liberty to do so. The next day eighteen men began at once to fell trees and within six days the house was erected and completed so that I could move in. The enemies called it "Little Bethlehem," which name we accepted. Shortly afterwards I dedicated the building. A surprisingly large number of people was present. I composed for the occasion the hymn: "Oh Jesus Christ, my God and Lord," etc. I told them all, that we had built the house not only for a parsonage and school house, but mainly to have a place where we could quietly meet to speak with each other of Jesus and of our souls. No one had any objections to make, they rather expressed their satisfaction. Especially the little awakened flock was happy and glad that they would now soon have what they had hoped and longed

[31] Lawrence Thorstansen Nyberg was born in Sweden. In answer to a call of the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster he arrived there in the summer of 1744. He had been won by the Moravians in England, and on his arrival in Lancaster tried to win the congregation to the Moravian union movement. As a result a struggle ensued, which led to the separation of the element favorable to the Moravians in the summer of 1746. (See *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., vol. I., p. 176.) Later Nyberg preached in Lebanon and York and also among the Swedes in New Jersey. He went to England in 1750, where he served a Moravian congregation at Haverford West, in Wales.

for. Even some Separatists joined us who said, that they were now compelled to see and to confess that the Lord was with us.

After this our enemies planned more than ever a fight. At one time they resolved to attack me after the sermon and to beat me half dead. Some said, there was going to be bloodshed in the church. The women were to begin the fight by attacking me. But they were smitten and convicted by the sermon to such a degree that they forgot all quarrel and allowed me to go away in peace. At my departure several of the women exclaimed: "Look, look, there he goes, nothing will happen to-day." Afterwards they resolved to secure a warrant for the land on which the church stood and then close the church against me. But my friends heard of it, and headed them off in Philadelphia by securing the warrant first. This embittered the enemies more than ever and they called us church-thieves. But I am still preaching in the church and no one says anything against it. I have many hearers, even the enemies come, for they like to hear me. They say, we hear the preaching of Lischy with joy and pleasure, for no one can object to that, but we do not want to have any fellowship with him. I had promised a school teacher to the awakened souls, and as the brethren (in Bethlehem) were not able nor willing to give me a school teacher and I had to have one for this winter, John Adam Luckenbach came very handy to me, who had long ago asked me for such a position. I allowed him to move into the house, which he did. He has been our school teacher for this winter. He is an awakened man and has already written to the congregation. We have twenty children, who stay here the whole winter, for whom we provide meals and lodging, besides there are those who attend the school only during the day. The grace of the Saviour is working in a number of them, they are doing very well. I conduct a song service every evening, speaking with them of the Saviour and his wounds. When I am not there the schoolmaster leads. Our society grows under God's blessing, four-

teen men are active in the work of the Lord, with whom we can be thorough. The number of the convicted and partly awakened souls is still larger. Of the women I do not know much, as I have not made it my business to converse with them, although some have complained of it and asked, whether the men were alone to be saved, they also needed it, etc. The members of the society have written their views to Bethlehem concerning the women and have asked for a sister. If one be needed anywhere in Pennsylvania—and can serve to advantage, I believe it is here at the "Modencrück," for I hope that the dear Saviour will make this a nice place and gain many a soul.

The *seventh* place is *Cocalico,*[32] where I have preached every four weeks in the afternoon. But because it grew too late during the winter I have abandoned it for the time being. They can come in the forenoon to the "Modencrück" church to hear the Gospel. There are many awakened souls living there, but most of them are unknown to me since my time was never sufficient to visit them and speak to them.

The *eighth* place is *Warwick,*[33] where I had large audiences

[32] The Reformed congregation at Cocalico was organized about 1730. It is now Bethany, near Ephrata. For a sketch of its history see the writer's article in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, January 4–18, 1900.

[33] This is now the Moravian congregation at Lititz, in Lancaster County. An old record at Lititz gives the following interesting account of the origin of the congregation: "In the month of December, 1742, Count Zinzendorf, on one of his journeys, passed the night in the house of Jacob Huber here in Warwick township, where he conducted a song service and made an address. On the day following he preached in the court house in Lancaster. George Klein, one of the neighbors of Jacob Huber knew of it, but did not think it worth the while to go there. But during the night he became so restless that he resolved to go to Lancaster the next morning to hear this man preach. This was done, not without leaving a deep impression on his heart. Soon afterwards there came, according to agreement, Jacob Lischy, then a minister of the Brethren Church. He preached a sermon in the house of Jacob Huber, at which Paul Lesson was convinced of the truth. From that time on Jacob Lischy continued his sermons at Muddy Creek and also here at Warwick, with great blessing, so that many Reformed people at both places were awakened." A church was built, called St. James Church, which was dedicated by Nyberg on July 25, 1744.

in the beginning, and, as the Gospel of Jesus Christ was doing its work there, I was much loved. But there are several quarrelers there and especially a whiskey house near the church, where the quarrelers first load up and often cause great offense before and after the service. Hence several elders asked me to preach at another place, notwithstanding the fact that the church was first brought into existence through me. For a long time I was unwilling to yield to their requests, because the right was all on our side, but at one time, while on the pulpit (my elders and other people having already stayed away from church) it became perfectly plain to me that they were right and that I should follow them. At that time I preached my last sermon in it and told the people that henceforth I would preach elsewhere. This I have done since. The church has since been empty and the quarrelers have often asked me to preach again in the church, but I have always refused to do so, because I feel more blessing in preaching in the houses. The whole congregation holds with me. There are awakened people there and souls longing for grace. But I can neither give their numbers nor their names, as I have never had the time to visit them and make myself acquainted with them. I believe that there will be a house like here at the "Modencrück." They have often offered to build such a house, but I have never been able to consent to it.

The *ninth* place is *Tonigal* (Donegal),[34] where I preach only every six weeks and only on week-days. They are now building a church, which will soon be ready and which I am to dedicate. It is not a large but a nice congregation, whose members from the first hour to the present time have remained loyal to me. They have often asked me with tears not to abandon them, but to have patience with them. Several days ago one of their deacons, an intelligent man, visited me and brought me all kinds of provisions. I took him to our society,

[34] This preaching place at Donegal is now represented by the Reformed congregation at Elizabethtown, Lancaster County. The old church record of the congregation was opened by Christian Henry Rauch. A church was built there, which was dedicated by Lischy on March 22, 1745.

at which he wept like a child and said: "To-day I realize that I never believed in Jesus. I had thought, indeed, that I had been changed by his teaching, but now I see that I deceived myself and that I am still under the curse and in unbelief. He wept so much that he had to stop speaking. He departed much cast down and commended himself with tears to my prayers. There are other awakened souls there, who long for grace. The wife of the deacon is thoroughly awakened. A Jewess by birth, who has become a Lutheran, weeps every time, when she hears of the Jew Jesus Christ, her friend, who had hung on the cross. I once visited her, she was touched by grace and wept bitterly.

The Mennonites, who live there, at first came frequently to hear my sermons, for they liked to hear me. But their minister forbade them to come.

The *tenth* place is "*Quitopehül*" (Quitopahilla),[35] where I preached in the house of a rich man, named Baltzer Ort, and because many church people do not live there, the Mennonites constituted most of my hearers. I preached there several times and administered the Lord's Supper to seven souls. They loved me very much. Baltzer Ort and his wife with several other souls are awakened and seek grace. The door is open to me there and I can preach whenever I wish; they will consider it a favor.

The *eleventh* place is *Coventry Town.*[36] This is the congregation which Mr. Boehm tried to take away from me, because it lies so near to his district. But when the lawfully called shepherd came the wolf fled and did not show himself any more. They have a pretty church, but it is a wild and

[35] So called after the Quitopahilla, a small branch of the Swatara, which passes through Lebanon. Balthasar Orth, at whose house the first services were held lived at the foot of the Conewago hills, five miles southwest of the later Hebron Church.

[36] Coventry is now represented by Brownback's Church in Chester County. The old church record of the congregation, begun by Lischy, is still in existence. It shows that Lischy's call to Coventry was dated April 10, 1743. It is printed in the *Büdingische Sammlungen,* vol. III., p. 109.

godless people, among whom the admonition of the Apostle Paul: "Brethren, be not drunk with wine" (Eph. 5:18) is of no avail. For quarreling and scuffling, dancing and jumping, drinking and eating is their delight. Yet they hear me gladly and even weep occasionally and are sorry that they are such poor slaves of the devil. The elders love me. The dear Saviour has given me there three children, who are awakened and have been pardoned. They can be clearly recognized as children of God. There are also several Mennonites, who hunger and thirst after grace. They love me very much and miss no sermon. Among them is a Mennonite preacher, Jacob Bach, who on a late visit asked me to come to his house. I found him as well as his wife very anxious for forgiveness. They asked me with tears to visit them again. Among them is also a girl of about sixteen years. The Mennonites wanted to forbid her to hear my sermons. But she said, even if they would take her head off, she would not give me up. She had never heard any other man speak in such a manner. The last time when I visited the people with whom she stays and when I spoke to them she leaned on the spinning-wheel and listened to me with open mouth. However, there are also several Reformed souls there who have been convicted by the truth, but I have not been able to become acquainted with them, as I am always compelled to leave immediately after the sermon.

The *twelfth* place is *Schwatara,*[37] to which place I was most urgently asked to come. Great crowds of people of all kinds came to hear me. But as it lies far away I could but rarely visit it, although I met with a hearty reception. They have a church, situated upon a hill, which is open to me. There are convicted and awakened souls in that locality. Since I was sick I have not been there for half a year, which has pained them very much. I preached there a few weeks ago. They

[37] This preaching place was near Jonestown, Lebanon County. There was a Reformed congregation in existence on the Swatara before the year 1739. See "Minutes and Letters of the Cœtus of Pennsylvania," p. 16, This report of Lischy proves that a church had been erected before the year 1744.

did not let a word fall to the ground, but tried to persuade me with presents and tears to visit them more frequently and not to abandon them. They have already sent me two calls and while I am writing a wagon has arrived at my house with flour, wheat and oats from that place to provision my household. I could not give them a certain promise, because it was impossible for me to carry it out. If the brethren will assist me and give me an opportunity to visit these people, it will soon be evident how many souls there are who want to be converted and to be saved.

The *thirteenth* place is near Ephrata, also called *Cocalico,*[38] the place where I lived for some time. They had a Reformed preacher, yet they asked me to preach occasionally in their church, which I did. I also baptized my child there and an adult, at whose baptism a special grace and power of Christ's death could be felt, so that all the people were touched and brought to tears. It made such a deep impression upon this man that it has stayed with him to this present time. The people there loved me and showed me much kindness, but because they were unwilling to submit to a fixed order and I had too much to do besides, I gave them up again. This grieved most of them very much and they asked me immediately for God's sake to continue to preach for them but I persisted in my resolution and was unable to grant their request.

The *fourteenth* place is *Erlentown* (Earltownship).[39] There is a large church and a large congregation, which I found in a poor and disorderly condition. The people urged

[38] This is most probably the same preaching place as that previously mentioned under number seven. The Reformed preacher referred to by Lischy was perhaps Tempelmann, who, as we know from the journal of Schlatter, preached there in 1747. See "Life of Schlatter," p. 159.

[39] This was no doubt the Zeltenreich congregation in Earl township. This report of Lischy proves that it was in existence before the return of Rev. Mr. Rieger from Holland, in 1745, who is usually regarded as its founder. The earliest pastor of the congregation was most probably John Conrad Tempelmann, who is known to have baptized Susanna Baumann, a daughter of Henry and Catharine Baumann, on September 8, 1732, in Earl township.

me very much and frequently came to see me before I accepted them. This I did finally and promised them to preach for them every four weeks, until I could secure some one else for them. There are several awakened souls living there, especially one of the deacons, a man who confesses that the crucified Saviour has appeared to him and, since a short time ago, has made his influence felt in his heart. The people hear the gospel gladly and some think of such an institution as here at "Modencrück," but it is too early for that. I am not very well acquainted with them and never see them except in church. For this reason I am not able to give a complete statement of any congregation, because thus far I have aimed at nothing else but to preach the Gospel and to allow Christ and his spirit to operate.

The *fifteenth* place is *Lancaster County,*[40] near the new town, a place where I preach every four weeks, in the afternoon, at the earnest solicitation of several people in the new town and of those living in this district. It is a very peaceable people. They love me very much and hear the Gospel respectfully. There are awakened and some pardoned souls among them, but I have not become fully acquainted with them except that I am their preacher. All kinds of people come to hear me there.

The *sixteenth* place is *Tulpehocken,*[41] to which I have been

[40] This preaching place is represented to-day by Kissel Hill, because in a later diary Lischy mentions Mr. Kissel, Sr., and Nicholaus Kissel, Jr., as its most prominent members.

[41] About Lischy's visit to Tulpehocken, Boehm writes as follows in his "Second Letter of Warning": "As regards Jacob Lischy he pretended this spring to be a Reformed minister from Switzerland before two Reformed elders at Tulpehocken. He assured them that he had nothing to do with Count Zinzendorf and the doctrines of the Herrnhuters [Moravians], but that he had come, last summer, to this country with a merchant ship. He was able to cajol them by his fine smooth words and they appointed a day for a meeting to accept him if their brethren were satisfied with it. But when they came together, several were better informed that he was a true Herrnhuter and hence they sent him away. He had offered to them, because I had agreed to administer the communion to them twice a year, and to baptize their children, not to lay any thing in my

called by a very rich, but godless man, to preach in his house. This I have done three times with blessing, through which he and his wife together with several other souls have been convicted of the truth and have learned to love me. They ask very urgently that I continue to preach them the Gospel.

The *seventeenth* place is "*Cushehoppen*" (Goshenhoppen),[42] to which I was called a half a year before I came to them. The congregation wrote to me through the schoolmaster, but because my coming was so long delayed, Mr. Boehm meanwhile did his best to fill the heads of the people with all kinds of slander, so that I found most of them very gloomy and antagonistic. They hardly allowed me to preach in the church, but a few urged me to come again. The next time they would not let me into the church, because Mr. Boehm had told them that I was a murderer of souls. He would rather make peace with the devil than with me, etc. I preached under a large tree, while the people sat around me. I also baptized two children under the tree. An honest, grey-headed man held the baptismal vessel and a little boy held my book. It was a blessed service, most of the people wept heartily. An honest, old Mennonite preacher, who heard me, said to the enemies: "The ass of Balaam had more sense than you people, because he made way for the angel of the Lord, but you oppose the servants of God maliciously." During the third service I stood at the church door, on the highest step, while many people stood before me and although it was very cold they listened to me with much attention. It was also blessed. There are several awakened souls in that place, who love the brethren. They desire me to continue preaching, but I did not promise it to them.

way, but to allow me to continue, he would only be their minister and preach for them. But in one of the homes he allowed this remark to slip, if he had only been two or three times in the church it would all come different. When this was made known to the people they recognized more fully his cunning falseness."

[42] About the efforts of Lischy at Goshenhoppen see the statements of Rev. Mr. Boehm in his report of 1744. "Minutes and Letters of the Cœtus of Pennsylvania," pp. 26–27.

The *eighteenth* place is *York*[43] at the Catores (Codorus), with a very large church and a still larger congregation of at least 300 souls. They wrote me at first a letter asking me to visit them, but I could not find the time to do so and hence postponed it very long. Meanwhile all kinds of slanders were spread there, for instance that I deny the existence of God and reject the five principal points of the Christian religion, that I am a Zinzendorfian and the like. When I came there I was very poorly received. The man, who had written the letter of invitation was much afraid that I would scold him severely and he would have to pay me himself. But I comforted him and told him that this was not a new experience to me, but that I was used to such procedures. I asked the elders to meet and I explained myself to them, whereupon they opened the church to me. A large number of people assembled, so that not half of them could get into the church. I preached twice on that day. The people were much surprised. They hardly knew how to show me enough kindness. The Reformed members wanted to give me at once a call. They did so and wrote me a very touching letter, to which all the elders and deacons signed their names. After that I went there again and met with a grand reception. They took up, with open mouth and heart, every word I said and acted like hungry chickens. I felt much at home among them. I also met several awakened souls among them who had become acquainted with the brethren in Germany. They said that they had seen at once that I was one of the brethren, but they had been unwilling to speak to me, because they thought it would cause me injury among the Reformed people. It is certainly a large and beautiful field, in which the Saviour will gain

[43] Yorktown, on the Codorus, was laid out in October of 1741 by Thomas Cookson, Deputy Surveyor of Lancaster County, by special order of John, Thomas and Richard Penn. In November of that year twenty-three building lots had been taken up. Lischy was called by the congregation at York on August 12, 1744, and when he declined to accept this call, it was renewed on May 24, 1745. This second call, which was accepted by Lischy, is still preserved in the archives at Bethlehem.

many a soul. They wait with great desire for my return when I am to organize the congregation and administer the Lord's Supper.

These are the places where I have preached during this time, so that I was often weak and tired and frequently hoarse from speaking. There are still several other places, at which I have preached from time to time, but I am becoming tired of writing (and I suppose you are tired of reading my report) which is too lengthy, although I have sketched it as briefly as I possibly could.

My dear Bro. Spangenberg, I will now tell you in a few words how I feel in my heart towards this whole work. I have now cared almost two years for these poor people and I have preached the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ among them. I have had many a blessed hour, but I was also deprived of much happiness which I could have enjoyed in the congregation and my own soul has suffered by it. Indeed I owe it to the Saviour and the congregation that I did not perish and was not overcome by the clerical spirit. Nevertheless I always felt deep in my heart that I would rather be a poor sinner in the congregation than a great man outside of it, who is much venerated. This is truly the condition of my heart, and as a poor sinner, who can boast of nothing but faults and sins, I cast myself to the feet of the Saviour and of the congregation to be corrected and punished according to my deserts. With a grateful and contrite heart I ask and implore grace and pardon. You, my dearly beloved brother, will examine and consider the whole matter and decide it with the help of the Saviour and of the congregation. But I promise to be and to remain your and the whole congregation's most submissive child, J. Lischy.

The places which must be cared for, and where the door is open are as follows: (1) Heydelberg, (2) Berne, (3) Modencrück, (4) Werwick, (5) Tonigal, (6) Quitopehüll, (7) Coventry, (8) Cocalico, (9) Erlentown, (10) Lancaster County, (11) Upper Tulpehoken, (12) Cushehoppen (13) York on the Catores.

VII.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

BY THE REV. A. S. WEBER, D.D.

The Inner Light, Its Reality and Significance.

"The great question of the day in all moral matters," one of the leading spirits of current religious thought in England has recently observed, "is the question of a spiritual authority."* The circumstances which have conspired to give the question so important prominence are not far to seek. The things once popularly regarded as clothed with authority, are not now reverenced in the same way. The Church with its traditional standards of faith no longer wields the commanding power over men's lives that it once did. The Bible under the light of modern research in the judgment of many fails of affording its readers a final authority in matters of faith and practice. The minister of the Gospel finds his utterances weighed and criticised as fully and frankly as if he were an unordained speaker, the importance which official distinction once gave his words being entirely gone. The absence of authority in the Church, in the Bible, and in the Ministry, obliges the heart of mankind yearning for a moral and spiritual authority, to turn in other directions to find it. What is it that constitutes such an authority?

In the remarkable paper above quoted, Dr. Forsyth affirms that "the Gospel of God's historic act of grace is the infallible power and authority," not for human conduct alone, but likewise for the Church and for the Bible, both of which are its

* Dr. P. T. Forsyth's article on "The Evangelical Churches and the Higher Criticism," in *Contemporary Review*, October, 1905.

product. In the latest of his books,* Dr. Amory H. Bradford after setting aside the Church and the Bible as courts of final appeal, declares that "there is but one such court of appeal, and that is God. That which is true and right in his sight must be discovered or satisfaction will be forever impossible. The basis of authority is in God alone" (page 164). In their intended purport, these two answers to the question as to where the seat of authority is to be found, are no doubt practically the same. By the phrase "God's historic act of grace" we are to understand the revelation of himself in the person of his Incarnate Son—a revelation in us confirmatory for us of the truths recorded in the gospel narratives. In this view Christ is "far more than the highest authority in Christianity,"—as Auguste Sabatier has so happily put it—"he is Christianity itself." † In other words, whilst revealing God as the supreme authority, Christ is at the same time the indwelling, life-giving Spirit, the Inner Light needed by men to recognize and respond to whatever divine impressions and precepts may appeal to their affections or their will. By the inward testimony given to our spirits by the ever-present Spirit of God, the Inner Light crowns itself with the self-authenticating authority before which as final and reliable every man can submissively bow and gratefully worship. "Christ in us" then is seen to be not only "the hope of glory" as he was for Paul when writing to the Colossians, in a world to come, he is for believers now a present reality, the one all-sufficient Light on which they may in confidence rest, for all needed guidance and support.

The extent to which the need of emphasizing anew this great truth is felt is shown by the number of earnest discussions of the subject that are being published. Some of the fundamental principles of the Reformation seem to have been lost sight of in our day, just as they were in that of George Fox, and like him men are now proclaiming what the Re-

* "The Inward Light," Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York, 1905.

† "Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit," page 294.

formers of the sixteenth century had already explicitly taught. It may be worth while reminding ourselves in this connection that the Reformation stands not merely as a negative protest against errors and practices that had entrenched themselves in the Church, or as an heroic illustration of the manner in which wickedness and corruption are to be removed from its fellowship. It was that of course, but wasn't it in addition to that the positive affirmation also that every Christian, nay, every man, as the founder of the Society of Friends unweariedly maintained the words of the evangelist—"true light, which lighteth every man"—meant—was not the Reformation the positive affirmation that every man has throned in his own individual heart, a sovereign power, the Holy Spirit of God, whose counsel he must seek, whose voice he must acknowledge, whose light he must implicitly follow? To be content with a Protestantism that disregards the positive element of the Reformation is unfaithfulness to its spirit. One can't but sympathize somewhat with those in the Episcopalian Church of our country, who on account of the one-sided interpretation, or misinterpretation rather, that is placed upon the term "protestant," are desirous of having it eliminated from the name of their Communion.

The protests and the reforms of the great religious movement in which Luther and Zwingli, Calvin and Melancthon, figured so prominently, were incidental to the discovery of the dignity and worth of the individual man by them. It was unhesitatingly declared by those heroic leaders that the subjection of one's faith and conscience in a blind and slavish way, to any so-called authority in organization, office or book, was treason to God, and that failure to bring to the judgment bar of the Inner Light every tribute of life and power and service, was moral suicide. In that language the positive message of the sixteenth century may be discerned. It is the truth of the Inner Light, loyalty to which has left its distinguishing mark upon much, probably most, of what is highest and best in the intellectual, the social, the national, the moral

and the religious progress of mankind in the last three or four hundred years. The nations that have been hindered from obeying the message are aptly and correctly called "decaying nations"—the ecclesiasticism prevailing among them dwarfing manhood and paralyzing the activities that make for advancing civilization.

Where, on the other hand, faithful response has been given to the leadings of divine Providence as regards this message, there a vital development has been moving forward and is still recording its triumphs from year to year. The Protestant nations lay the burden of faith and duty, of responsibility for the performance of required service in every relation, where God has laid it—in the heart of the Individual. The final authority is carried by him wherever he goes in his own bosom, and neither priest, ecclesiastical organization, or "authorized" doctrinal formulary, can take the place or discharge the functions of that inward, "Master Light of all our seeing." So significant is it for the freedom of manhood and its loftiest achievements that the withdrawal of its inspirations would involve the arrest of progress, ruin, and spiritual death for all. Illuminated by it, we are made responsible for the solution of intellectual problems for ourselves, and with the divine Spirit in our hearts and the Bible in our hands, may we not feel qualified to prove what is the good, the acceptable, the perfect will of God, amid our every trial and difficulty? We must solve the problems of faith for ourselves, and enjoying the constant presence of him who promised to be with us always even unto the end of the world, may we not in the utmost confidence put our unquestioning and abiding trust in him? We must solve the problems pertaining to conscience and the will for ourselves, and knowing from personal experiences that there is a living power that "worketh in us both to will and to do according his good pleasure" may we not delight in the services to be rendered, and anticipate with utmost joy the Christ-like characters that are thus to be won?

Such character can be thought of only as a personal achieve-

ment in circumstances giving opportunity for such self-chosen services. In the school of life, as in every other school, the education that does not exercise the conscience and the will, the moral and intellectual fiber of one's own personality, is an education that depraves the soul. Welcome, therefore to the wise and divinely appointed arrangement necessitating men to look within themselves for the Light to guide in all the decisions and duties of life! Welcome, to the knowledge we have of the fact that the "court of final appeal" sits enthroned within our secret selves, and that to it alone we are held accountable. Remembering this, we should decline, accordingly, to have others do our thinking and choosing for us. We should allow no one to pray in our stead, to give in our stead, to worship in our stead, to read and interpret the Scriptures in our stead, or to apply their teachings to the doing of the work of God assigned us, in our stead. By electing for ourselves to follow the "Light that never shone on land or sea," but whose radiance naught but sin can dim in our hearts, every man may by personal thought, patience, faith, suffering, service, and sacrifice make his calling and election sure, and attain unto a fullgrown manhood, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

The Christian Doctrine of Salvation.

At the beginning of his essay on Diderot, Carlyle complains that whilst "the Acts of the Christian Apostles are written in so small a compass that they can be read in one little hour," the "Acts" pertaining to his subject "lay recorded in whole acres of topography." True to his characteristic principles of literary rectitude he selected twenty-five volumes out of the latter acreage which at the cost of enormous energy and patience he read preparatory to the work he had undertaken and afterwards so creditably performed.

Similar complaint might be made with reference to the extent of the literature on the subject of the Christian doctrine of salvation, or of what is commonly spoken of as the doctrine

of the Atonement. "Whole acres of topography" in the constantly multiplying treatises and discussions of the subject, offer themselves for consideration and press their varying opinions upon the attention of the religious and theological public. One of the latest contributions* to this body of literature—the one by which the present topic has been suggested—is itself an illustration of these facts. Vast energy and patience—more than the Sage of Chelsea possessed—are needed for one to acquire a somewhat accurate and satisfactory idea of the contents of such lengthy volumes, and still more to realize the earnestness of toil, the devoted interest with which many of the master-minds of the day are at work in this province of religious thought. It is amazing to see with what intellectual vigor and moral penetration they are attempting to reconcile current ethico-philosophical speculations with the words of Scripture as regards the Atonement, and with what practical unanimity, notwithstanding their failure of having as yet found a doctrinal statement acceptable to all, they are agreed that the theories of the Atonement inherited by us from earlier centuries can no longer be maintained.

Instead of arousing complaint, however, the broad field which is covered by this theological literature, and to follow which requires so much time and industry, should really be regarded as one of the important and significant signs of the religious life of our time, and welcomed for study with the utmost enthusiasm. In addition to the disclosure of the unanimity with which the writers on this profound theme have given up traditional theories, their books show that Hyrkanus, who of old was praised for holding and giving out the instructions of his teacher "like a water-tight cistern," has no imitators among those who in our age are true to the principles of Protestantism. Men outside the Roman communion,—and some important instances within it—in these times refuse to receive and hold and give out their theology

* "The Christian Doctrine of the Atonement," by George B. Stevens, D.D. Pages 546. Scribners, New York, 1905.

simply because it is so taught, "ready-made," in established standards. They demand, and do so justly, that the symbol of their faith shall command the approbation of their own reason and conscience, that it shall express throughout the spirit of the Gospel—the spirit of Christ. It must answer to the honest thought of their own minds, find a living response in their own hearts, and justify itself in the experience of their personal lives. Summoned before the bar of that judgment by the modern intellect, the explanations of the doctrine of salvation as set forth in earlier ages, have been found wanting. Neither in anyone of them by itself, nor in all of them put together is the full truth of the doctrine to be found, and for that reason open-minded seekers after the truth have felt it necessary to turn their backs upon them and to look elsewhere for a more adequate statement of it.

In despair of being able to satisfy this quest of the soul, there are not a few that now content themselves by saying that although believing in the "fact of the Atonement," they do not regard the rational explanation of the fact within the reach of human possibility. That, it may be remembered, was already Butler's view. In his "Analogy" he says: "If Scripture has left the matter of the satisfaction of Christ mysterious, then it is our wisdom thankfully to accept the benefit by performing the conditions upon which it is offered on our part, without disputing how it was procured on his." Dr. Dale's contentions in his great book on the Atonement at times leave the impression of inclining in the same direction. Such views are supported by not a few of the religious writers and Christian preachers of the present day, and the popular mind is generally satisfied to rest upon such unwarranted and insecure foundations. In saying this one is not forgetful of what is constantly admitted by even the most penetrating writers who take the opposite side of the question. The principles involved in the forgiveness of sin through "him who died for us" cannot be reduced to absolutely final and complete statements. To succeed in doing that, it has been forcibly

and correctly said, would involve "a perfect apprehension of God's love, of the divine law, and of sin as the rejection of that love and the transgression of that law—these three in their ultimate relation to each other"—a thing admittedly stretching out beyond the powers of the human mind. But must it not be admitted also that rational and moral principles must be discernible in the saving work that Christ has accomplished, if it is to be in a real sense a fact for religion? So the author of a volume* which has not yet received the attention it deserves, conclusively shows in arguing for the need of further effort to produce an adequate statement of the doctrine in question. "Religious truth," he says, "is truth that has it in it to be a motive and persuasion and appeal to the life of thinking beings. Its facts cannot be facts impenetrable to thought. They must be luminous, not opaque. To deny this of the Atonement is really to dislodge it from religion. It will indeed ever stretch into mystery, but it cannot be merely mystery. Its principles however inexhaustible, must be approachable. To Christian thought and experience they must suggest not the dumb darkness of mystery, but the light of rational and moral truth."

Those accepting this contention as valid are mentally hospitable to the many efforts which the present day is putting forth to justify the ways of God to men—his way particularly in providing for the salvation of sinners through his Incarnate Son. Impulse for this new and marked activity on the part of so many scholars, Principal D. W. Simon† thinks, has been given to British men of thought by the vigorous emphasis, which the Rev. Dr. Dorner and other German theologians, have put on the ethical principles which must necessarily underlie all the problems growing out of the relations of the creature to the Creator. And it is equally true that to the same source the most important and discriminating theological

* "The Fact of Christ," by P. Carnegie Simpson, M.A. Revell, New York.

† "Reconciliation by Incarnation," by Dr. D. W. Simon. Clarks, Edinburgh.

work of American thinkers is to be ascribed. The Germans, as George Eliot makes a character in one of her romances observe, have built the great highways through the realms of thought on which the thinking nations of the world are to-day traveling. This is certainly the case so far as the ethicizing of religious thought is concerned, and probably also so far as the transfer of accent from the Sacrifice of Christ on the cross to the incarnation is concerned.

With reference to the latter fact, the very titles of many of the books which treat of the doctrine of Christian salvation with the most distinguished ability from the modern point of view, furnish sufficient evidence.* They are practically one in insisting that the incarnation must be regarded as the primary and highest fact in the history of God's relation to man, that in the light of it God's interest in man and purpose for man can alone be truly seen, and that the atonement itself therefore must take place in order to the fulfillment of the divine purposes revealed by the incarnation. This conception of the relation of the incarnation and the atonement has not always been the prevailing one. The question as to the order of relationship between them has long divided the thinking of theologians. From the time of the appearance of Anselm's "Cur Deus Homo" the prevalent idea for centuries was that the atonement occupied the primary place. The sin and guilt of man involved the great necessity which was provided for by the atonement, out of which accordingly arose the necessity of the word becoming flesh and dwelling among us. The great service which McCleod Campbell's "Nature of the Atonement" may be taken to have rendered to the progress of Christian thought, is the reversal of this order of precedence in the

* Ottley's "Doctrine of the Incarnation," Gore's "The Incarnation of the Son of God," Illingworth's "Personality Human and Divine," Lidgett's "The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement," Wilson's "The Gospel of the Atonement," Forrest's "The Christ of History and Experience," Sabatier's "The Atonement," Smythe's 'Personal Creeds," Peyton's "The Incarnation, First of the Three Greatest Forces In the World," and the two works by Simon and Stevens already mentioned.

relationship of these fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Assuming from the beginning of his great argument the primacy of the incarnation, he sought to vindicate for Christian thought the divine mind in Christ as perfect sonship towards God, and perfect brotherhood towards men, and on that basis to establish the incarnation as developing itself naturally and necessarily as the atonement. And whatever the shortcomings of his distinguished effort in some other respects, so far as the point now under reference is concerned, it must be granted that it has won for itself very general, if not universal, approbation among thoughtful people.

In all the books just noticed it is significant that from various view-points the Son of God is regarded as having meaning for ethical life and moral character in men beyond that which comes from his teachings or personal example—a meaning that issues as the result of his coming through the incarnation into living union with humanity. Vitally one with our race, the incarnate Word has enriched our humanity by giving divine character and power to our thoughts, our affections, our will, and becoming indeed "the name of every man's true and better self." Thus, one who in the early dawn of the Christian morning had apprehended the deeper significance of this union of the divine with the human, exclaimed, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." In his experience Paul had realized that it was more than a figure of speech—that parable in which Christ said "I am the vine, ye are the branches. Abiding in me ye shall bring forth much fruit, severed from me ye can do nothing." Jesus the Christ therein gave utterance to what is the distinctive characteristic of Christianity, namely, that he personally carries the power that saves into human life, and that apart from him there is no such saving power to be had or found.

In its bearing upon the problem of the forgiveness of sin, this essential aspect of Christianity with its implications and consequences, is in present-day movements of thought receiving more of the consideration which is due to it than ever

before. Under the light of it the passages of Scripture bearing on salvation are being studied and interpreted. It is made the foundation on which systematized doctrine of the atonement is being built—a constructive process which is not by any means as yet completed, but by which, it is confidently believed, God is providentially preparing the Church for intelligently accepting the great truth of the Gospel namely, that "Christ Jesus was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption," the truth elsewhere put in this form: "There is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." Properly understood, scriptural sayings of this kind will assist philosophical reasoners over the difficult question, "How can God who originated and who continues to sustain the ethical order of the universe—an order which must condemn sin and punish guilt—how can he maintain justice and yet justify the sinner?" "The principle of oneness between Christ and humanity," it is said in one of the books under review, "suggests in answer to that question, a counter question, namely, 'How can God condemn that which has Christ in it? If Christ be one with us, so that God cannot look at us apart from Him, how shall condemnation be God's verdict on us?'" This is the prime fact which it is believed by many, the Christian doctrine of salvation in its re-stated form must recognize in order to command the assent of current ethical and philosophical conceptions, and that it can do so without doing violence to the teachings of Christ as reported in the Gospels. When it comes to the practical application of the principle of the "Mystical Union" between Christ and humanity in the development of the theological statement of the doctrine, different methods will be pursued and different aspects of truth accentuated, but in every case morality and religion will be signally helped. Our space being exhausted, the discussion of this phase of the subject cannot now be undertaken.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

VIII.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

The Inter-Church Conference on Federation.

An ecclesiastical assembly of five hundred delegates representing thirty denominations of Protestantism in the United States is no longer a dream of the prophet but a fact for the record of the historian. The meetings in Carnegie Hall, New York City, extending from November 15 to November 21, 1905, were both an effect and a cause. They were the effect of years and even decades of preparation. Causal forces have doubtless been set in operation whose influence on American Christianity the keenest eye cannot foresee. The details of the conference have been reported in the religious and secular papers. We shall consider the preparation for, and the purpose of, the assembly.

I. What made such a gathering possible? More than once the statement was heard from the platform, that a conference like this could not have been held fifty years ago. Then the attitude of Christian denominations toward one another would have made it impossible. There must have come a change of temper over Protestantism in this country during the past two generations. This change is evidenced by the Conference and by various interdenominational movements which have sprung up in these latter days. Since men are always slow to change their religious attitude it becomes especially interesting to study the tendencies which have been working toward federation and union in the churches generally. We shall classify them under two heads—the practical and the theoretical.

The practical tendencies originated in the felt need of joint action between the churches for the evangelization of the world. Both in the home and foreign field the powers of dark-

ness wrought such havoc with the souls of men, that Christians turned their attention from polemics to irenics. A brief review of interdenominational work will prove this statement. The earliest foreign missionary societies in America were union societies. The Reformed Church, for example, coöperated with with the American Board in supporting missionary Schneider in Turkey. The Congregational, Presbyterian, Dutch and German Reformed joined to a greater or less extent in foreign work. The revival of the missionary spirit, which means enthusiasm for Christ and for souls, resulted also in tract, Bible, and Sunday-school societies, none of which was limited by denominational lines. Men and women met in conventions, discussed practical questions, and worked hand in hand to save men. In their zeal for the kingdom they naturally lost some of the narrowness and bigotry of the churches to which they belonged. The missionaries on the foreign field, surrounded by a "militant idolatry," realized the folly of a divided church and took steps toward federal or organic union of the missions. Notable among these is the Church of Christ in Japan. Fields of labor are assigned the different churches, colleges and seminaries are consolidated so far as possible, and publications are issued from central publishing houses.

In the interest of efficiency and economy closer coöperation became necessary also in the home field. Sectarianism in many parts of the country was sacrificing men and money for its shibboleths. The common sense of Christians revolts against that sort of a policy. Missionary secretaries have been holding meetings and with the sanction of their churches are seeking to prevent an overlapping of territory in the occupancy of new fields. A number of popular organizations have arisen, in spite of the theologians and churchmen, which have grown beyond dogmatic or ceremonial barriers, and united men and women for Christian work. These are the Young Men's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavor Society, the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, and the International

Sunday-school Association. The Evangelical Alliance united most of the Protestant churches for practical purposes, while the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterial system throughout the world, as the name implies, brought the churches of one branch of Protestantism into closer fellowship. These movements are evidences that the centrifugal tendencies in the church catholic are counteracted by the centripetal.

The more immediate preparatory work for the Inter-Church Conference was outlined by Dr. Sanford in a paper read before that body. The Open and Institutional Church League was organized in Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, N. Y., 1894. Men of leading denominations belonged to the league whose object was to "sanctify all days and all means to the end that men might be brought back to the simplicity and comprehensiveness of its primitive life until it could be said of every community the kingdom of heaven is within you and Christ is all in all." About the same time a Federation of Churches of New York City, including pastors and laymen, was organized. Its purpose was similar to that of the Church League, though it was more directly concerned with mission work in the neglected portions of cities. These two organizations devised a plan by joint action of their Executive Boards for a National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers. In February, 1901, this organization was completed and at its annual meeting in Washington, February, 1902, it was resolved that a "Committee of Correspondence be appointed to act with the Executive Board of the National Federation of Churches in requesting the highest ecclesiastical or advisory bodies of the evangelical denominations to appoint representative delegates to a National Federation Conference to be held in the year 1905." In response to an invitation to the Protestant bodies from this Committee and Board delegates were appointed and the first Inter-Church Conference was held.

It took more than ten years to give formal expression to a spirit that has been growing for fifty years. As is the case in

all great movements the idea originated in the minds of a few men, and with a practical purpose in view. Having been once expressed, it spread rapidly in different states, and assumed national proportions. The authority for the conference was not the mandate of a Pope, nor the voice of Bishops, nor the decree of a Council; but it was the demand of the Protestant consciousness of the United States, a higher authority it would be hard to find. All its resolutions and proposals will be valid only so far as they satisfy that consciousness. Its decrees are not irresistible commands but persuasive invitations to coöperate in the work of the kingdom of Christ.

The theoretical tendencies, of which the practical are merely an outward expression, are traceable back of the nineteenth century. They were started by a change of standpoint in theology, which manifested itself in a change of attitude toward the Bible, dogmas, and ecclesiastical ordinances. Emphasis has been shifted in the church from the dogmatic to the historical, from the institutional to the ethical.

The first effect of protest against Romanism was to unite the reformers of Western Europe against a common enemy. But, when the Swiss and German Protestants began to define their positive views, differences appeared which separated them into denominations which were not much more friendly toward one another than toward Rome. At least four distinct types of Protestantism developed out of an undefined anti-Catholic movement which came from Zurich and Wittenberg,—the Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, Anabaptist. These bodies, many of them divided into subdivisions for national and temperamental reasons, were organized with a distinctive polity, cultus and confession. Each organization practically claimed the prerogatives of apostolicity and infallibility. The dogmatic and intolerant spirit dominated Catholicism and Protestantism. The Bible was read through the colored spectacles of denominationalism. History was made to vindicate creeds. The Magdeburg Centuries were written from an ultra-Lutheran view-point; the Annals of Baronius from a Roman

Catholic; Arnold's Ketzergeschichte from a Sectarian. As the wrath of the theologians increased, the piety of the people declined. The lifeless orthodoxy of the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century was the natural outcome of such a spirit. The institution or the dogma eclipsed the Christ; theological lectures displaced gospel sermons.

While the controlling spirit in Protestantism was dogmatic, sectarian and polemical, there have always been irenical spirits who have borne witness to the importance of church union. Zwingli reached out the hand of fellowship to Luther in spite of their doctrinal differences. Calvin prayed and labored for the unity of believers, and said he was willing to cross ten seas to heal the divisions in the Church. This statement he made in answer to Archbishop Cramner's invitation to him, Melancthon, and Bullinger to meet in Lambeth Palace for the purpose of drawing up a consensus creed for the Reformed churches. This meeting was never held on account of the death of Edward VI. and the martyrdom of Cranmer. Melancthon began to compromise after 1530 in the hope of avoiding a schism in the Western church. He was disowned by the rigorous Lutherans and came into closer agreement with Reformed divines. He represented the irenic and liberal element in the German reformation, which unfortunately was ruled out by the Formula of Concord.

The line of witnesses for union did not die out with the first generation of Protestants, though their testimony was frequently not heard in the din and roar of theological battles. A tract was published by Meldenius in Germany in 1627. It is written from a Lutheran standpoint, but maintains that practical piety is more important than purity of doctrine. In it appears for the first time the now celebrated sentence, in necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas ("in necessary things unity, in unnecessary things liberty, in both charity"). In this statement we have a watchword of the modern church. The author of it voiced the sentiments of such irenic divines as Calixtus, Pareus,

Crocius, Andraea, Arnd, Frank, all of them German theologians, and of the "travelling evangelists of Christian union" in England, John Dury and Richard Baxter. In his book on The True and Only Way of Concord of All Christian Churches, London, 1680, Baxter quotes Meldenius's lines, designating them "the pacificator's old despised words." Calixtus of Helmstedt, 1613, made a sensation in the Lutheran Church by announcing that "the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, sufficient for salvation, were contained in the Apostle's Creed, and in the common faith, explaining it, of the first five centuries; and that the churches which acknowledged this, and regarded the additional tenets of the particular churches as non-essential, should at once come into peaceful relations, and thus pave the way for a future union of churches" (Giesseler's Ch. Hist., Vol. IV, 589). Thus a positive basis of union was presented and a clear distinction made between articles of faith necessary for salvation and dogmas which were unnecessary and not contained in the Scriptures. History, too, was interpreted in a new spirit, those points being emphasized on which men agreed in the past rather than those on which they differ at present. A step was taken in the right direction. But Calixtus was driven out of the Lutheran Church. His labors, however, were not in vain in the Lord.

In order to make the desire for union which was felt by leading men in all denominations practicable, fundamental changes had to come about in theological methods and view-points. For union, to be real and effectual, must be more than a pious longing. It must be based upon theological thinking as well. This latter element is probably overlooked in our day. The movement in liberal theology, which originated with Schleiermacher, Herder, and their contemporaries, is the scientific basis for the Inter-Church Conference.

There were three elements in the original Reformation which did not receive proper recognition in scholastic Protestantism. One was the experience of salvation by the grace of God

through Christ by faith, which the Reformers had, Luther especially. The other was the grammatico-historical method of exegesis, and the third was the historical spirit. Personal experience of salvation was superseded by acceptance of a confession; the grammatical method of interpreting Scriptures was modified by the allegorical and confessional; the historical spirit had to give way to the dogmatic. A revival of these principles in the Protestantism of the opening nineteenth century was bound to work havoc with many of the creations of the sixteenth and seventeenth. But it meant a simplification of religion, a return to Christ, and a reduction of forms and ceremonies in the church to the essential and universal principles of the gospel.

The meaning of Luther's experience of salvation by grace through faith was that Christianity was primarily a life resulting from the believer's fellowship with God in Christ. He rediscovered the Christ of history in his conversion, but later made room for the Christ of dogma in his church. It is hard, indeed, to make the evangelical experience of salvation square with Greek metaphysics. It is clear, however, that trust in a gracious God as the way of justification is something far different from the inflexible orthodoxy of the Protestant dogmatics, nor is it in any way allied to the ecclesiasticism which arose in different lands. If Christianity is essentially a personal experience, and not acceptance of a series of dogmas nor membership in an institution, then a common basis has been found on which all Christians may stand; the Jesus of the gospels on the one hand, faith in Him on the other. The life which results will work itself out in different intellectual and ecclesiastical forms. But the substance of the life is the same in believers in all organizations which hold up Christ and require faith in Him. Schleiermacher began a new era in the history of Protestant theology in making the Christian consciousness the medium through which Christ is revealed and by defining Christianity as the life of Christ in the soul of man. He was the first who left the old paths in giving theological

expression to the Protestant experience of salvation. The old doctrinal distinctions lost their meaning. The old questions upon which the reformers divided were not settled, but they were simply outlived. Our age is awakening to that fact, is rubbing its eyes, and asking with some signs of amazement, why do we differ anyhow? No one could precipitate a sacramentarian controversy at present. Men would take little interest in the once blood-curdling disputations on the ubiquity of the humanity of Christ. Even the Princeton theologians could not prevent union between Presbyterian bodies by getting the skeletons of Arminianism and Calvinism out of the closet and attempting to scare the elect into their ancient camps. Whether men will acknowledge it or not, bewail or welcome it, the fact is established that Christian thinking is done from a different view-point, from different premises, and in a different spirit from that of the Fathers of the sixteenth century. One reason why we are uniting, where they separated, is that we have tabled their problems and have come closer to the historical Jesus whom they had in their experience but did not abide by in the construction of their systems.

Another cause for union is the general acceptance of the historico-grammatical method of interpreting the Bible. Scholars in all churches agree on the method, though they may still differ in conclusions. There is no longer a Lutheran, Reformed, or Baptist exegesis. Just as all laboratories in the world have adopted the scientific method of investigation, so all churches in their schools are rapidly accepting the scientific method of studying the Bible. Many of our traditional doctrines and customs are based on an allegorical or a dogmatic exegesis. These will gradually be eliminated, and there will be more and more unity in conclusions as men will consistently apply what is the original Protestant method of explaining the Word of God.

The growth of the historic spirit has liberalized men. Church history must be re-written, has in part been re-written, on account of the new historic spirit. No one would now at-

tempt to find the Papal, Episcopalian, Presbyterian or Congregational polity in the New Testament and still hope to maintain his reputation as a historian. While the Medieval Church did an invaluable service for humanity in its day, the attempt to perpetuate medievalism in the modern age must end in disastrous failure. The effort which is made on two continents to define the essence of Christianity, and the answer which is usually given in the terms of the historic life and teachings of Jesus, are significant. We are beginning to distinguish gospel from the framework in which it has been cast, and are realizing that each age must present the gospel in a framework of its own. As we find out what Christianity is in essence, we see, also, how much of that which divides the Church may be dropped, and how much must remain eternally to bind the Church into one body.

We shall but mention the ethical tendencies of the times. Deeds are set above doctrine; at any rate the two cannot be separated. Theological speculations must proceed from sound moral premises. What is horrible is no more true than what is absurd. Unmoral ordinances are given up. Social and political problems absorb the attention of the Church. Men are uniting to fight sin, to promulgate truth, and to advance righteousness. They are coming to a knowledge of God through the will rather than through the intellect.

The theoretical causes, which we have mentioned, have not finished their work. In many sections they are not recognized, and if discovered, are put under the ban. But the hope for a future reconciliation of the Christian churches whether in the form of federation or organic union we should rest far more on these theoretic tendencies, which are working slowly and surely toward their divinely appointed goal, than on the meetings of alliances, brotherhoods, and associations. The latter are only products of the former.

II. The purpose of the conference is implied in the word "federation." It was not, as was reiterated a number of times by the speakers, to unite churches in an organic way.

Denominational convictions are not to be sacrificed. The Episcopalian bishops and the Baptist pastors were particularly emphatic on that point. Yet all seemed to think that the thirty churches represented essentially agreed. At least they were agreed for practical purposes, for fighting the devil in all forms, for saving souls everywhere, for bringing the Gospel to heathen lands, for social purity and civic righteousness, for Christian education in the home, the school, and the Church.

The several objects of the Council were briefly stated, in the plan of federation which is to be recommended for approval by the constituent bodies, as follows: I. To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church; II. To bring the Christian bodies of America into harmonious service for Christ and the world; III. To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches; IV. To secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life; V. To assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities.

From these statements we observe that the chief aim is "to bring Christian bodies into harmonious service for Christ and the world." Such a union, of course, involves "devotional fellowship and mutual counsel." It will, also, give strength to the churches in meeting moral and social issues, as well as impress the world with the fact that there is a United Church of Christ in regard to all that is true, beautiful and good.

What will the outcome be? There are those who sneer at the Conference. Others are indifferent to it. Many are enthusiastic over it. Whatever the results will be, if they are spiritual, as they ought to be, they cannot be tabulated in statistics next year nor the next decade. The conference was a step in a process that is centuries old and will continue for centuries to come before a consummation is reached. Without steps there could be no advance.

At best the whole matter is still in the air, an ideal which must be worked into flesh and blood. The test of the practicability of federation will be made when *local branches* are organized. It is easy enough to agree at long range in Carnegie Hall, but it is not so easy to agree at short range in the city of Lancaster. Let pastors and laymen of all denominations in towns and cities attempt to divide new mission fields, agree, when they seek members, that they are practically one, and adopt a common plan even for fighting the devil, and a deal of human nature will assert itself which was latent in the delegates of the conference. It will then have to be settled how far we can differ and still cooperate. Is it true that we are practically one when an influential body, there represented, could not recognize the baptism of two-thirds of the delegates present? Can men say that our differences are insignificant so long as they would consider the ordination of three-fourths of the ministers in the United States as invalid? We mention these points not to disparage the value of the council or its aims, but to show that many obstacles are in its way and that its ideals must be realized in centuries and not in years. Protestantism must be reconstructed from the foundation upward in principle and in practice. Men must move out of the sixteenth century order, into the new order of the twentieth before there can be consistent federation, cooperation or actual unity. In the meantime we shall recognize one another as being honest, true, and devoted to the Christ we know. God is in this movement. He is working in American Protestantism. He is leading the way. Devout men of all churches are following the voice of the spirit. In His own time the petition of the Saviour, "that they may all be one," will be answered.

G. W. R.

IX.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

PRIMITIVE TRAITS IN RELIGIOUS REVIVALS: A Study in Mental and Social Evolution. By Frederick Morgan Davenport, Professor in Sociology at Hamilton College. Pages 323. New York, The Macmillan Co. Price $1.50 net.

The publication of this volume is timely. In Europe and America there is a widespread effort to revive the churches, and under the leadership of prominent evangelists a number of revivals have been begun. The psychological method is also being applied to the study of religious phenomena. Within the last decade books on this subject have appeared from the hands of Professors Hall, Coe, Starbuck and James. Their investigations have thrown light both on the nature and history of religion. From the same standpoint and with the same method Dr. Davenport has investigated religious revivals. He uses the term in its narrower sense as applied to the awakenings from Wesley to Moody. He does not, therefore, include the Lutheran or Puritan reformation in his discussion.

In the preface the aim of the writer is said to be the presentation of a "sociological interpretation of religious revivals, a task which, so far as I know, has not been seriously attempted hitherto." The discussion is based on certain presuppositions. The doctrine of mental and social evolution is assumed throughout. Again, "the typical religious revival is characterized by the dominance of emotion in mass and in control." The latter assumption he finds substantiated by data from the history of all the revivals under consideration. An effort is made "to segregate the primitive and baser elements in the revival." The spirits are tried by their moral effects. A pioneer work of this kind cannot be without its defects. There may be unwarranted conclusions, one-sided emphasis, and insufficient data. Yet an intelligent man will not refuse to subject the revival to thorough scientific investigation in the hope of finding that which is of permanent value, and that which is only transient in character.

The basis of the discussion is laid on a consideration of the revival as a form of impulsive social action. Such action appears in the social and political as well as in the religious sphere. It is under the control of fixed laws. Three of these are stated and traced in the revivals under discussion. First, the law of origin, that impulsive social action originates among people who

have least inhibitory control. Second, the law of spread, that impulsive action tends, through imitation, to extend and intensify in geometrical progression. Third, the law of restraint, that sympathetic popular movements tend to spend themselves with abandon, and are held in check only if there are a considerable number of individuals scattered through the population who are trained in the habit of self-control. An analysis of the mind of the primitive man follows. In the savage and the child there are strong physical action, predominance of the emotions, and a quiescence of the rational powers. These are characteristics of the masses generally. Among them we accordingly find the beginnings of revivals. They respond to the methods used by the revivalists, and their conception of religion is that of the revivalistic type. At a later period of development the rational assumes control over the passional. Both the conception of religion and the methods of conversion change correspondingly.

In the study of the notable revivals of the last two centuries—the Scotch-Irish in Kentucky in 1800; the Scotch-Irish in Ulster in 1859; the New England awakening; the revival of Wesley and Whitfield; the transition in the United States from Nettleton to Moody, the racial, mental, social and religious conditions of the people, the personality and methods of the evangelists, and the results in the personal and communal life are carefully traced. Each one of the revivals has distinctive characteristics depending on peculiarity of environment, temperament and culture. Many crude and repulsive phenomena are shown to be the fruit of the flesh rather than of the spirit. Many of the popular demonstrations and methods cannot stand the test of scientific criticism.

In some respects this book is critical and destructive. Yet it excludes on scientific grounds what the common sense of many men could never accept in revival movements. To discover the laws of religious phenomena, however, does not mean that they are valueless and undivine. That which happens according to law ought to be as divine as that which is sporadic and mysterious.

The author in a closing chapter on the New Evangelism defines his conceptions of the place of revivalistic methods in the work of the Church at present and in the future. "And we may," he says, "look, I think, for a great decrease of these special and startling experiences with the more careful training of children in religion, with the slowly strengthening quality of the average man, and with the progressive decline of the old-time revival. The new evangelism will not concern itself with the reproduction of by-going, if not by-gone, types in method and experience. It will be thoroughly interested in the relatively small number of genuinely sudden and startling metamorphoses of character which are not artificially induced by the revival. But

it will not model itself completely in accordance with them." It is interesting to note how the scientific study of revivals and the phenomena of conversions vindicate the educational system of religion. That for which men contended for generations ago when the churches of the United States were carried away by the revivalistic methods is now upheld by psychology and pedagogy and is one of the first principles of the Religious Education Association. Men like Nevin and Harbaugh would accept without hesitation the following conclusion of Dr. Davenport: "A sound family religion furnishes the only sufficient basis for healthy evangelism. And next after this we shall strive to bring the content of religious instruction in church and Bible school up to the psychological and pedagogical ideas of our time. We shall gather the children between the ages of ten and fourteen, under the most perfect leadership the churches can command—wise and noble men and women who are able to teach boys and girls that they are born for the higher life of religion and the church just as they are born for the higher life of politics and the state; that enrollment for citizenship in the Spiritual Kingdom of the invisible Father is as natural and sensible as enrollment in the voting population of the nation."

This book ought to be read by every pastor and by laymen who are interested in the spread of the gospel and the salvation of souls. It sets one thinking along new lines and will aid one in solving a number of problems relating to revivals in a rational manner. It is a fair presentation of both sides of the question—the strength and weakness of revivalism.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. By John Edgar McFadyen, M.A. (Glas.), B.A. (Oxon.), Professor of O. T. Literature and Exegesis, Knox College, Toronto. Pages xii + 356. New York, A. C. Armstrong and Son, 3 and 5 W. Eighteenth St. Price $1.75.

In the preface the author states the purpose of this volume. He does not pretend to write for specialists. The book "is written for theological students, ministers, and laymen, who desire to understand the modern attitude to the Old Testament as a whole, but who do not have the time or the inclination to follow the details on which all thorough study of it must ultimately rest." Those who are acquainted with the previous publications of Dr. McFadyen know that he is a specialist in Old Testament literature, has made a thorough study of details, and has a clear and simple style, which fits him particularly to write an Introduction such as he has now published. In his treatment of critical questions he pays attention to the more salient points, presents the conclusions which seem to him most probable, and does not burden the text with references to opinions of scholars.

Not only are the literary problems treated, but a valuable statement is given of the religious contents and significance of each book. These statements are very suggestive to the student and aid him in tracing the message of the writers to their age. The standpoint from which the treatise is written is that of the higher critic. But its spirit is that of a cautious investigator who is unwilling to draw conclusions which lead beyond the facts at hand. Some readers, he thinks, might have desiderated a more confident tone, but he has "deliberately refrained from going further than the facts seem to warrant. The cause of truth is not served by unwarranted assertions; and the facts are often so difficult to concatenate that dogmatism becomes an impertinence. Those who know the ground best walk the most warily."

We have not read this volume with the eye of a specialist. We have used it, however, in the preparation of lectures for instructing classes in several Old Testament books. We have found it most satisfactory for that purpose. The books are treated in the space of five to fifteen pages. The salient questions are clearly stated and the leading ideas are summarized so that in a short time one may acquaint himself with the reliable conclusion of specialists on questions of authorship, sources, and purpose. For the student, preacher and teacher who are pressed for time, this book will be more helpful than the more elaborate and exhaustive Introduction by Driver. The latter is indispensable for scientific study, the former is an excellent and original summary for popular use. We predict that when it is once tasted by the preacher, it will become one of the most frequently used volumes in his library.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

GOD'S CHOICE OF MEN: A Study of Scripture. By William R. Richards, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City. Pages 231. New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1905. Price $1.50 net.

The author of this book defines his purpose in writing it in the Introduction in which he says, it is a "new-fashioned treatment of the old-fashioned doctrine of God's election of men." The chapters are sermons or the substance of sermons delivered in the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City. The treatment of his subject is therefore in popular style. He presents a very profound question in simple and comprehensible terms and shows that there is an eternal truth in Calvinism, although he freely concedes that there are elements in it which can no longer be held and which are harmful rather than helpful. He regards the article on decrees in the Westminster Confession not so much a final solution of, but an effort to solve, an ever-recurring mystery to which no thoughful person can shut his eyes. If you are not willing to accept Calvin's solution, or perchance Paul's in Romans,

you may find a more acceptable solution; but the chances are against you. It is probably one of those difficulties that must be lived through holding Chirst's hand, rather than thought through guided by Calvin or Edwards.

The table of contents is divided into two divisions,—part first, "God's Call and Man's Answer"; part second, "The Purpose of Election." The first part contains six sermons besides an Introduction. The eternal decree is defined as the basis of differences among men and as the designation of men for service rather than for rest. In the second part the purpose and responsibilities of election are described. The following themes suggest the general line of thought: Called to Fruitfulness, Called to Freedom, Called to Willingness. God's calls imply responsibility and privilege, and do not interfere with the freedom of men.

"From first to last we have found this Divine choice exalting the idea of individual human personality. The new life started in the soul when He called His own by name; and the immortal life grows sure through their personal relation to Him. Individual personality is the uniform outcome of this great doctrine of divine election. God chooses men one by one."

In reading the sermons new light is thrown on old texts. The standpoint is new and the treatment is refreshing and suggestive. The book shows that the great doctrines, which have engaged the attention of theologians from Paul to Edwards, have practical interest for a twentieth century audience providing they are present in their relation to present day life.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

SERMONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS FOR 1906. By the Monday Club. Thirty-first series. Pages 371. Boston, New York and Chicago, The Pilgrim Press, Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society. Price $1.25.

The annual publications of this series are kindly received by Sunday-school teachers as well as preachers. The fact that this is the thirty-first volume in the series is evidence of its popularity. In its structure the book conforms to the volumes which have preceded it. The Sunday-school lessons for the year 1906 are explained in short sermons covering about eight pages. The names on the list of contributors number 28. It is a publication of the Congregational Publishing Society, and the sermons are prepared mainly by men of the Congregational Church, yet the spirit of the contents is not denominational. We may style these expositions biblical and practical which is doubtless their purpose. Preachers of various denominations are among the contributors. Among the more widely-known are the Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., the Rev. David Gregg, D.D., the Rev. William Elliot Griffis, D.D., etc.

The number of writers lends diversity to the manner of treatment and adds interest to the book. It naturally follows that the expositions vary in value. Yet after one has made a careful study of the text and context of the lesson, the critical and exegetical notes of the lesson helps, and the hints to teachers, he turns with interest and profit to the reading of these sermons in which there is an unfolding of the central thoughts and usually a very apt application to the present day life. Very confidently do we commend this volume to the attention of all who are engaged in Sunday-school work.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

COMPLETE INDEX TO THE EXPOSITORS BIBLE, TOPICAL AND TEXTUAL. By S. G. Ayers, B.D., Librarian of Drew Theological Seminary. General Preface to the Expositor's Bible, by the Editor, W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Together with Introductions to the Old and New Testament Sections, by W. H. Bennet, M.A., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis at New College, London, and Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at Lancashire College, Manchester. Pages 1312. New York, A. C. Armstrong & Son, 3 and 5 W. 18th St. 1905. Price $1.00.

The first fifty-five pages of this volume contain a general preface by Dr. Nicoll, the editor of the Expositor's Bible, an introduction to the Old Testament section by Dr. Bennet, and an introduction to the New Testament section by Dr. Adeney. The remaining 257 pages are devoted to a complete index to the volumes in the series, topical and textual. It is the work of Mr. S. G. Ayers, B.D. Both the preface and the introductions are intended to show the relation between the modern method of bible interpretation and the permanent value of the Bible itself. Dr. Nicolls reiterates his conviction that the Bible not only contains, but is the word of God. The ultimate testimony to this fact he derives not from external witness nor from a process of reasoning. It is the testimony of the Spirit in the believer's heart. Drs. Bennet and Adeney show in a very concise and instructive manner how the discoveries of science, the conception of history, the speculations of philosophy, the new facts of archaeology, and the results of criticism have made a new exposition of the Bible necessary. The Expositor's Bible is a natural product of the age in which it was written. It embodies sound scholarship, and yet is a practical exposition of the biblical books, with their central truths related to the personal and social problems of the day. It is on this account a unique series of commentaries and has helped preachers and people to read the Scriptures with renewed interest and to find in them a fresh and perennial message.

The chief value of the book, however, is in its index which is to guide the student to the treasures of thought in all the volumes

on the Old and New Testaments. The compiler has endeavored to make it "complete, comprehensive, and practical." The scheme of the index is that of subjects, texts, and authors quoted. The utility of such an index will suggest itself to the student. Those who have procured a set of the Expositor's Bible will doubtless complete it by the purchase of this supplementary and final volume.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGION: A Course of Lectures delivered in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States on the Foundation of the Swander Lectureship. By Rev. John I. Swander, D.D., F.S.Sc. Pages 186. Philadelphia, Reformed Church Publication Board. 1906. Price $1.00.

The title has all the associations of prosy treatises, but Dr. Swander, who is always fearless and unconventional, has chosen this time to surprise his admirers with a poem. "This composition," he says in his preface, "was written for intellectual exercise, and for the Christian development of the author. . . . Intended as an expression of his own subjective feeling, it also notes a few features in those sections of the objective panorama of history which Providence had permitted to pass within the compass of his limited vision. . . . The design of the author was to awaken stalwart thought in the important and expansive realm of religion."

The poem consists of 718 stanzas of six lines each, carefully rhymed. The main line of thought is historical; but this is frequently broken by theological and practical reflections, often of a humorous character, or by lyrical passages, many of which are strikingly beautiful.

The orthography of the book is bad. The proof-reading has not been well done.

In regard to the poetical form, much might be said by way of criticism, if technique had been the principal consideration with the author and this were the proper place to criticize it. It is enough to say that the work is inspired by genuine poetic feeling, and if the author's Pegasus appears jaded now and then the reason may be found in the weight of the load he has to carry. He gets along most easily where there are fewest historical names and philosophical terms. A few quotations will give one a good idea of the style:

> "Mere revelations in a book
> Were less than what wise Heaven desired,
> And just what old tradition took
> For all that man's distress required;
> The truth is, Truth, man's case to meet,
> Must come to man in *Life* concrete" (163).

"The Almighty God whose love had smiled
Through all the everlasting years,
Awoke in time, a little child,
And bathed His cheeks in infant tears,
While angels round the mystery hung,
And Gloria in Excelsis sung" (170).

"Peninsulated in the sea,
Projects time's narrow neck of land;
While waves from vast eternity
Dash 'gainst our beach of shifting sand;
And sounds from the great ocean's roar
Intone the shells that line our shore" (318).

This is poetry, unless we are greatly mistaken. The long passage on Death which immediately follows the last quotation seems to be the best sustained flight in the poem. It is quite characteristic of the author that it should be followed—to the great surprise of the reader—by this abrupt and reckless challenge:

"Should this be damned as heresy,
Then go and make the most of it;
Go, study anthropology,
And exercise a little wit.
Away with false theology!
And bone-dust eschatology!"

This is not the only sudden jolt that the reader experiences in the perusal of the book. The author's frequent disregard of the conventionalities of literature and his too great fondness for such phrases as "more wise than otherwise" necessarily expose his work to attack from those who are not in smypathy with him.

When the poem was read to the professors and students of the Seminary at Lancaster last fall it served its purpose well, to stimulate thought on the great themes with which it deals, and in its printed form it will no doubt continue to do so. The author's mind has an extraordinarily wide range and is in close touch with our own times. This, his personal confession of faith, is in substance sound and should be helpful to the faith of others.

CHRISTOPHER NOSS.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST. By a Layman. Pages 336. Funk and Wagnalls Company. Price $1.00 net.

This work, written by a layman who prefers to have his name withheld from the public, in order that the book may stand on its own merits, has been widely noticed as a strong, remarkable, original work. The author is said to be a layman of decided convictions, and wide commercial and political experience. He claims to have made an original examination of Christianity and the Church of Christ on the basis of the New Testament records, without favor or bias, and his conclusions are set forth in clear,

concise form, with a ring of sincerity in his language that appeals to the reader. Perhaps it would not be very difficult to surmise who the author really is, and the conclusion to which he comes might lead one to suppose that he is not as entirely free from preconceived ideas as he himself imagines. The book shows great familiarity with the Bible, and the line of argument is one which deserves serious attention. Such attention the book is receiving, as is evident from the notice which has been taken of it by the religious press throughout the country.

The author tells us in the introduction that, inasmuch as we are largely creatures of environment, and accept our political and religious opinions because of our early training, he "decided to reinvestigate his accepted religion, and, if possible, to make an original and impartial investigation of the subject pertaining to religious truth, considering it from the heathen, the Jewish and the Christian standpoints," the result of which is given in the volume before us. "The denominations, sects and parties in Christendom cannot all be right. They may all be wrong; but no two can be right if we accept at its true value the statement of Christ 'that there be no division among you.'" The author claims that Christianity is a new or original religion, especially in that the offer of absolute pardon to the world lying in sin was promised only through Christ. Again "the Church of Christ is a complete organization, divinely constituted, without any authority given to any man or set of men or ecclesiastical body to change any of its rites, its offices, or its ordinances." On the basis of this principle the author proceeds to consider in Book I. the history of pardon, and in Book II. the evidence of pardon and the church as an organization. In the first chapters of the book we have, first, a discussion of Christianity as a new or original religion, the significance of the Kingdom of Heaven, the coming of Christ as a teacher and the Word of God. Stress is laid upon the passion of Christ as the one condition upon which pardon for sin can be obtained, an aspect of Christianity in which it differs from the two preceding revealed religions, the patriarchal and the Jewish. Stress is laid especially upon the three cases of pardon spoken of in the Gospel where Christ himself announced the forgiveness of sins; namely, that of the man sick of the palsy, of Mary Magdalene and of the thief on the cross. These acts of pardon, he says, were performed whilst Jesus was personally on the earth, and that, too, before his death and before he had given commandment to both saint and sinner. "In these three cases they were pardoned by the Word of the Lord, but there were no terms required in order to pardon. In all cases subsequent to the death of Jesus, there are terms of pardon required, but the evidence of pardon is the same, being the Word of the Lord spoken

by divine authority." "When he died and left his will to his executors, the blessings henceforth have been bestowed according to his will. As well might we expect him now to address the multitude, as well to heal the sick, cure the blind, as to pardon now as he did then. He could not do this without violating his last will and testament in which the terms of pardon are fully set forth." The author insists, therefore, that after the death of Christ, when the Christian Church was founded and the apostles began to preach, pardon and salvation were necessarily dependent upon a compliance with the conditions laid down from the very first; acceptance of the preached gospel by faith, repentance, baptism. These are the only conditions, and they are necessary conditions, required of all who expect to receive the benefits of Christ's coming and become members of His Church.

In Book II. the author lays stress on the assurance of pardon and discusses the Church of Christ as an organic institution, claiming that the ordinances and the offices of the Church were established upon its first organization, and that the type of the Church in all ages is to found in the apostolic church. The ordinances are baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism, which is for the remission of sin, is only for adults, because, as he says, "infants have no sin for sin is the transgression of the law" (page 272). The Lord's Day takes the place of the Jewish Sabbath and no other festival has divine sanction. Church government was congregational. 'There was no higher organization, no synod, assembly, or ecclesiastical body placed over it or given legislative authority over it, for Christ is 'the Head of the church.'" This, of course, does not exclude coöperation and union among the various congregations to promote their welfare and by united effort to spread the gospel abroad and build up the kingdom of God on earth. From this normal, primitive condition the Church fell away in subsequent centuries, and then follows the great apostasy and the revelation of the man of sin. The remedy for this is found in a return to the simple faith and principles of the early church, by which alone the evils of denominationalism can be remedied, and the divisions of the Church healed.

It will be seen from this brief survey of the conditions of the book, that, although it abounds in valuable suggestions and deserves to be carefully studied, it lacks in many important particulars. In the first place, there is no real apprehension of the significance of historical movement in the revelation of God, and in the history of the Church. For this reason, the significance of Judaism and its relation to Christianity are not appreciated at their full value. This becomes still more evident in the stress which is laid upon the doctrine and organization of the primitive

church. There is a fatal inability to see that all human institutions have their growth and development, and that the Church of Christ, although divine in its origin, enters into human life, and Christianity becomes a matter of human experience and human development, proceeding in the nature of the case by a process of differentiation and progress, from lower to higher stages. The conception of Christian salvation turns so largely on pardon, and the conditions upon which pardon may be obtained, that the significance of Christ's coming for the kindling of a life of light and love in the world is largely over-shadowed. And as to the reunion of Christendom on the basis proposed by the author, we are reminded of the fact that all religious denominations have ever been ready for church union if offered on the basis of their own belief and principle. The basis of union, therefore, baptism of adults by immersion, and the congregational system of church government, is hardly broad enough to commend itself for universial acceptance.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE STUDENT'S OLD TESTAMENT. Vol. II., Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives: From the Establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom to the End of the Maccabean Struggle. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. Pages xxxi + 506. Charles Scribner's Sons. Price $2.75 net.

This is the second volume of the author's series of books constituting "The Student's Old Testament," logically and chronologically arranged and translated. The first volume on "The Narratives of the Beginning of Hebrew History" appeared some time ago and was reviewed in connection with general remarks on the whole series by Dr. Gast in the July number of this REVIEW for 1904. The present volume takes up the subject at the time of the establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom including the histories and biographies contained in Samuel and Kings, and brings the narrative down to the close of the Maccabean Age. It is not too much to say that it is one of the most helpful books that has appeared for the use of Old Testament students. Every page presents the evidence of thorough scholarship, wide research, lucid statement and a thorough digestion of the material with which it deals. The author, of course, is thoroughly versed in the recent researches of Old Testament scholarship, and he accepts without hesitation the theory that the historical books of the Old Testament are based on older narratives, documents, popular traditions and cycles of popular stories, which were compiled and edited in later times, not so much for the sake of historical accuracy, as for the purpose of religious instruction. At the same time, the author is conservative and constructive, that is, he does not indulge in vague theories and wild speculations, and he en-

deavors to trace the influence of the different elements in the narrative as a whole, and give each portion its proper place and influence. Before the title page, as a frontispiece, there is a chart which gives the sources, growth and approximate dates of the Old Testament and the Apocryphal Historical Books, making a distinction in different kinds of type between books still extant, books referred to by title in the Bible but now lost, and others known only through quotations. The date of the different important events is given in the margin and the origin of the different narratives and their confluence into later accounts is graphically represented, so that the student gets at a glance the results of the most painstaking scholarship and the most minute investigation. Of course, in the exploration of so wide a field where many landmarks have disappeared, there is a good deal of conjecture, and the results of investigation, or the conclusions arrived at are by no means always certain; but every help is afforded here for thorough investigation and you have the most careful grouping of contents and classification through the whole history of the Jewish nation with chonological charts and maps of very great importance and an index of biblical passages which are treated in the text.

The author treats first of the origin and present literary form of the Old Testament historical and biographical narratives. Then he takes up the earlier histories and biographies incorporated in Samuel and Kings, namely: (1) The Early Judean Saul and David Narratives, (2) The Later Ephraimite Samuel Narratives, (3) Very Late Popular Prophetic Traditions, (4) Popular Judean David Stories, (5) The Book of the Acts of Solomon, (6) The Israelitish and Judean Royal Chronicles, (7) The Early Ephraimite Elijah Stories, (8) The Gilgal Cycle of Elisha Stories, (9) The Samaria Cycle of Popular Elisha Stories, (10) The Isaiah Stories, (11) The Final Editing of the Books of Samuel and Kings. After that he considers the Chronicler's Ecclesiastical History of Judah and the Temple, the Original Sources and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah, the Records of the Maccabean Age, and the Recovery of the Original Text of the Historical Books. The striking feature of the book is the presentation of the various portions of the text derived from different sources in parallel columns, like a gospel harmony in New Testament study. The text as given in this way is accompanied by copious foot-notes of great literary and critical value, and the text itself is in the form of a translation embodying the results of the best scholarship of the day.

Whether we accept the author's method, or, accepting it, agree in all the details of his conclusions, it is safe to say that no student of the Old Testament can afford to be without this book.

We think that a careful study of this volume, or rather of the series of volumes of which this is the second, will convince every one of the truth of the conclusion to which the author himself comes at the end of the chapter on "The Recovery of the Original Text of the Historical Books": "The great foundations of faith, as established in the Bible, will not be moved, but patient, exact scholarship, careful judgment, better editing, and deeper study of the existing texts, and the discovery of new manuscripts will give each succeeding generation a translation which will represent more and more exactly the original books written by Israel's inspired teachers more than two thousand years ago. With the aid of the printing press and photography, critical scholars are rapidly putting into imperishable form the best that the past has given us. The future holds out the assured possibility of valuable discoveries. Thus, instead of leaving farther behind, each decade brings much nearer to the present the long lost autograph copies."

JOHN S. STAHR.

IRENIC THEOLOGY. By Professor Charles M. Mead. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

The aim and character of this newly published volume are well indicated in the subtitle: "A Study of some Antitheses in Religious Thought." The object of Dr. Mead is to show that many of the contrasts which are commonly drawn in theology are relative, not absolute, and that when viewed, as Dr. Bushnell used to say, in a "mood of comprehensiveness," they appear merely as two necessary aspects of the same truth, or even disappear altogether. The method of treatment thus indicated he applies to such problems as those of the relations to each other of idealism and materialism, love and justice, sovereignty and freedom, and native depravity and personal responsibility.

In the discussion of one topic—Redemption—Dr. Mead admits that he is rather more polemic than irenic, though, he thinks, and we think, necessarily and justifiably so. He repudiates, root and branch, the penal theory as held by writers like Hodge, Shedd, and Strong, the governmentalism of his Andover teachers, and the elaborate combination of formal principles by Denny, and plants himself upon the conception of a dateless passion of God on account of sin as the bottom-truth of atonement. In short, we have here an ethical interpretation which discards the whole apparatus of external substitution and vicarious penality.

The book is marked throughout by the learning, sobriety, and clearness which characterize all Professor Mead's work.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

METAPHYSICAL ELEMENTS IN SOCIOLOGY. By Philip H. Fogel, Ph.D., Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. Pages 58.

This is a reprint of two articles which appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. X., Nos. 3 and 4. The reprint is under the general title of Princeton Contributions to Philosophy.

The author, who is an instructor in Princeton University, sets before himself the problems of determining the exact relationship existing between sociology and metaphysics. In the solution of this problem he naturally confines his attention to such sociological writers as Giddings, Ward, Tarde and Baldwin, not only because these writers represent the dominant tendency in present-day sociology, but also because they have approached most nearly to the domain of metaphysics in that they have most strongly emphasized the psychical character of the social process. The older writers, who have interpreted social phenomena in terms of physical causation and are known as biological psychologists, are barely referred to, although the writer contends that they also are more or less involved in metaphysical conceptions.

The argument is in brief: The problem of metaphysics is to ascertain the nature, meaning and final significance of reality. It starts from experience and proceeds by the method of appreciation, which is defined as "a sympathetic identification of the subject or individual with the world in which the individual sees himself as an agent realizing his world in an experience which is individual for himself." The province of sociology, on the other hand, is, in the first place, to study the phenomena resulting from the interaction of human individuals, that is, the phenomena of conscious wills reacting both on one another and on the environment; and, secondly, to interpret these phenomena as a whole.

Now while some sociologists would treat the subject matter of sociology precisely as the data of the physical sciences are treated, it is generally conceded that social causation is something different from the causation of the physical sciences. The difference consists chiefly in this that the method of the physical sciences is observation and generalization, whereas the phenomena of social causation, while involving observation and generalization, cannot be properly understood, particularly in their higher syntheses, unless the observer read his own individual experience into that of the interacting conscious will he is studying. He cannot, in dealing with social phenomena, occupy an external independent attitude. On the contrary, in order to get at the experiences which are the immediate antecedents and causes of particular phenomena, to penetrate beyond the outer manifestations of society and lay bare the inner springs and motives which lead to the interaction of conscious wills, he must employ the

method, not of mere objective observation and description, but of appreciative interpretation which is characteristic of metaphysical investigation.

The argument shows wide reading on the part of the writer, and is well fortified with numerous citations from both metaphysical and sociological writers. In the main, too, it is satisfactory and convincing, although the reader can hardly escape the impression that it lacks at times in clearness and logical movement.

A. V. HIESTER.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE. By Walter Thomas Mills. Chicago, The International School of Social Economy. Pages 640.

This is an elaborate presentation of the principles, methods and aims of scientific socialism. The scientific socialism of to-day must be sharply distinguished from the Utopian dreamers of former times. The two have nothing in common save the desire to establish a more equitable social and industrial order. The latter is not founded on a careful study of the laws which govern social life and condition social progress, and is, therefore, unscientific. Scientific socialism, on the other hand, is the result of the application of the evolutionary philosophy to economics, as it has been applied to philosophy, religion, morals and politics.

In the main lines of his thought and argument the writer follows that lawgiver of modern scientific socialism, Carl Marx. The development of the present industrial order, which is denominated capitalism, from the earlier stages of tribal communism, slavery and serfdom, through the operation of social and economic forces, is first shown. This accomplished to the satisfaction of the author, he next essays the more difficult task of showing that capitalism is neither the best nor the final form of industrial organization, but that it contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and will, in obedience to the selfsame social and economic forces by which it was established in place of more primitive forms, ultimately give way to a higher and better form of industrial organization, which is socialism. The point is to be particularly emphasized, as all scientific socialists are careful to do, that socialism is not the dream or invention of one man or group of men to be arbitrarily established through violence. On the contrary, through the operation of forces inherent in the natural and necessary relations of human existence, there will be a gradual supersession of monopoly, tyranny and inequality of opportunity, the dominant characteristics of the capitalistic regime, by collective ownership, democratic management, and equal opportunity in the collectively used means of pro-

duction. These three, collectivism, democracy and equality, are the three great principles which underlie the socialist proposals. Each is traced by the author from its earliest beginnings, and in each case the attempt is made to prove that in the struggle for existence throughout all forms of life, other things being equal, those forms of life are best able to survive among which these three principles are most complete.

The second half of the book is devoted, first, to the restatement, in the interest of socialism, of certain fundamental conceptions of politics and economics, such as the purposes of the state, the theories of value and population, the nature of rent, interest and profit; secondly, to a discussion of current problems of public interest and their status under both capitalism and socialism; and, thirdly, to a consideration of the ways and means of prosecuting the socialist propaganda.

The second of these sub-divisions is the most interesting, as it is the most constructive, portion of the book. It takes up all the more important social problems of the day and shows, first, their status under capitalism and then how in the coming in of socialism they would find their proper and permanent solution. Socialism would transform the fine arts, religion and education; improve the status of the farming and middle classes; abolish trusts, labor unions, municipal misrule and unjust taxation; improve the civil service; raise the status of women; solve the race problem; abolish the traffic in vice; and bring about a better and more rational philanthropy.

The chapter on municipal misrule is particularly suggestive and will serve as an excellent illustration of the method of the author. In his analysis of modern municipal conditions the author finds four main sources of corruption which are present in all modern cities. These four are the tax dodgers who endeavor to escape their just share of the public tax by controlling the public officials whose duties are to assess and collect these taxes; corporations which cannot come into existence without securing franchises, and cannot secure franchises without going into politics, and, having secured their franchises, whether honorably or dishonorably, cannot protect their interests, or what they conceive to be their interests, except by continuing in politics; professional politicians who, without convictions on public questions or public interests of any sort, have for their sole object the securing for themselves of the spoils of public office; and purchasable voters, whether they sell their votes for dollars, drinks, jobs or special privileges. These corrupt forces, by pooling their interests, and appealing to false issues and so dividing the better class of voters between the national political parties, usually manage to control our cities. Now socialism would solve the

problem in several ways. In the first place, there would be no taxation and consequently no tax dodgers under socialism. Secondly, the establishment of the coöperative commonwealth would abolish the private corporation. Thirdly, the power of the professional politician would be destroyed, for the various sources of his income under capitalism would become impossible under socialism. And, in the fourth place, there would be no buying and selling of votes under socialism, for no one would find it profitable to buy, even if the personal interests of the individual voter in the just and efficient administration of public affairs were not so great as to make the venality of selling his vote impossible.

Socialism has an undoubted attraction for many earnest and sincere minds. It would indeed solve many troublesome problems but socialists have not yet succeeded in satisfying the great body of thinking men and women that it would not introduce into the social order even worse evils than those society is now suffering from. It emphasizes too little the transformation of the social unit, the individual, as the *sine qua non* of social improvement, and rests its faith too much on outward arrangements and external conditions. The book is an excellent presentation of socialist teachings and has both the virtues and the failings of its class. It exhibits, on the one hand, a high degree of moral earnestness, and, on the other, a blind faith in the efficacy of machinery for the realization of a better and juster social order.

A. V. Hiester.

The Use of the Scriptures in Theology. By William Newton Clarke, Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University, being the Nathaniel William Taylor Lectures for 1905, given before the Divinity School of Yale University. Pages 170, 12mo. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Price $1.00.

The author of this little volume is best known to us through his largest book entitled, "An Outline of Christian Theology," though his smaller publications, "A Study of Christian Missions," "Can I Believe in God the Father?" and "What Shall We Think of Christianity?" reveal the man and the tendencies of his thought fully as well.

This new volume on "The Use of the Scriptures in Theology" reveals the spirit and method of his former work. It is always interesting to have a peep into a master mechanic's workshop to see his methods of work. This is what the present volume does. We see the presuppositions of the greater work, "An Outline of Christian Theology." The trained reader had recognized them before in the reading of the latter volume but it is very refreshing to read them in the author's own statement, so full of warmth and color, for as he confesses, they have come out of his own experience. It is not, however, for this purpose that he writes but

out of a deep conviction, expressed in the preface, that the subject is one of great importance. "There is a widespread impression that modern studies upon the Bible tend to diminish, or even to destroy its value for the purpose of theology and religion. Against this impression these lectures utter a protest and offer reasons. The Bible continues to be the unspeakably precious treasure of Christendom, and will retain its place and power as the manual of Christianity and the Book of God for men."

The brief table of contents best explains the scope of the volume: (I.) The Problem, or the present situation, and how the wrong use of the Scriptures has wrought harm in theology. (II.) The Principle, or how theology in using the Scriptures must be loyal to the one great distinction found within them. (III.) Results Negative, or how the right using of the Scriptures removes all else from equality with the Christian Message. (IV.) Results Positive, or how the right using of the Scriptures fills theology with the Christian glory and sets the Scriptures in the place of power.

The problem is really the modern situation. "To-day there is a scholarly view of the Bible, and there is a popular view of the Bible, and they are an appalling distance apart." "We encounter a problem of the present time, for just now the question what the Scriptures are is answered in new ways, after new studies." A traditional and mechanical view of the inspiration of the Scriptures presupposes "an equal Bible," equally inspired and equally valuable, despite the fact that the whole history of the text and canon is against it.

The results injurious to theology coming from this view are many. The New Testament is deprived of its rightful primacy and is superseded by the Old. For example, the third chapter of Genesis has moulded the theological doctrine of sin more than the teaching of Jesus. The book of Leviticus has become the foundation of the doctrine of the atonement. The book of Daniel is fundamental in the questions of eschatology. Within the New Testament a similar result has followed. Theology has been accustomed to ask far more "What do the Scriptures say," rather than "What does the Master say." Another source of harm coming from the use of the Scriptures as equal throughout is that theology has been prevented from distinguishing between the Christian and the non-Christian elements in the Bible. It also lays the constant burden upon us of maintaining a doctrine of equal and infallible inspiration and the still heavier task of so interpreting the Bible that it may agree with itself. In the trail of all these difficulties comes the slavery of the proof-text method with its violations of context and spirit. Questions *about* the Bible tend to become predominant and faith is made to rest on solution of literary and historical difficulties. Beside, in the

meanwhile, the real ethical and spiritual problems of life and, therefore, of the Gospel are neglected.

If "the Scriptures are handed to us new by modern scholarship, being read in the light of linguistic studies, history, archeology, criticism, analysis, reconstruction, and without reference to the ancient idea of inspiration"; if the old bond of a mechanical inspiration is broken, what is the underlying and unifying principle of the new view? Dr. Clarke states it as follows: "The principle is, that the Christian element in the Scriptures is the indispensable and formative element in Christian theology and is the only element in the Scriptures which Christian theology is either required or permitted to receive as contributing to its substance." "Christian theology and the Scriptures are inseparable. They meet in Christ. To Him the Scriptures tend and from Him theology proceeds." In making Christ the norm there is in the Scriptures in point of time a pre-Christian and a Christian part, in point of quality a non-Christian and a Christian element. "That is Christian which enters into and accords with the view of the divine realities which Jesus Christ revealed. Jesus thus is the revealer and in a true sense the revelation of God. He revealed not only an idea but also the power to realize the idea. In Him God was experienced and therefore conceived. Life makes doctrine. His life made the New Testament. The Christian element, therefore, is a body of truth rather than of words. "The view of God and life which Jesus Christ brought into effect is true: God and life are such as He has shown us. This vital conception is what theology is made of. This Christian theology is to take, unfold, interpret, apply, and carry to its conclusion. This and spiritually sound conclusions from it form the bulk of Christian theology."

This view gives Jesus a true centrality in the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments. It does them justice and uses every method historical, critical, and devotional in order to understand them. It also does justice to theology because it makes it truly Christian. It gives it its rightful place of honor, as servant of the revealing Christ and the living savior-God whom he reveals. Justice likewise is done to the theologian, for it gives him scope for enlarged and renewed interpretation of Jesus. It requires knowledge of the whole Bible, deep and true spiritual insight and unerring sympathy with the mind of Christ. It gives the theologian the liberty of the children of God.

The acknowledgment of the principle at once makes some negative results manifest. The first chapters of Genesis are not literal history, nor do they aim to teach Geology. There is no historical narrative of the origin of sin and theology is just where Jesus left it, *i. e.,* without a historical theory, etc. With reference to the Christian and non-Christian elements in Scriptures impor-

tant questions arise. "Is the Christian element all in the New Testament? or have we some Christian thought from pre-Christian times?" Similar questions arise concerning the New Testament. Are there any non-Christian Jewish remainders? Are there any Gentile incorporations? The Christian idea, "God is a spirit and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth," relegates to the background all naïve anthropomorphisms and special localizing of worship. Many questions concerning the Jews and the Gentiles and their respective relations to the Mosaic laws fill the New Testament but on account of this principle cannot be real questions to the Christian of to-day. Theology ought to be delivered from all legalism. The principle, furthermore, delivers theology from the conception "that God holds himself aloof from sinful men and keeps them at a distance." This is rooted in the idea of the tabernacle, temple, and the Jewish legal system and has become rooted in the theological conception of the atonement but in the light of the principle in question it should be to us a non-Christian element. In questions of eschatology it was ever a non-Christian element that held sway and formed the conceptions of the parousia and the final judgment. One of the most important negative results is in the application of the principle to the question did Paul add anything to the Gospel? Are there Jewish elements still lingering in his Gospel? Are we to look for a non-Christian element in Paul at all? This involves the discussion of the formal, juridical, and sacrificial forms of thought in Paul's statement of the atonement. "We must set the Gospel by itself and keep it there." In so doing the author finds some Jewish remainders in Paul's statement of the doctrines of the Gospel, though in the main emphasis of his work and teachings he is gloriously positive and Christian.

But what are the main positive results of the application of the principle? "The Christian element from the Scripture is to enter theology: it is to enter alone, in all its majesty, and fill the whole place. This is the great and mighty word." It comes in from the Bible as a whole. There is a pre-Christian element in the Scriptures. The spiritual message of the prophets and the psalmists to whom Jesus attached his teachings receives full recognition. The Old Testament history of the growth of the knowledge of God presents a mass of suggestive material. Its positiveness and progressiveness is a distinct contribution to theology.

The very heart of the Christian contribution comes into theology as the direct personal gift of Christ. The New Testament is distinctively the source of Christian theology. The writer reflects the reaction of modern criticism which attributes more and more to the uniqueness and originality of Jesus. His message is inseparable from his person. He himself is the revelation of

God as well as the revealer of God. The value of the Synoptic Gospels is greatly enhanced, being central and fundamental in so far as they are objective history and so far as they are confessional, they with the latter part of the New Testament also form a vital part of the revelation; for, here we see the vision of the Christian revelation doing its work. Its power is manifest. The leaders are full of it. It comes to great variety of expression. This latter part of the New Testament refutes the idea that Christianity is a body of statements, a deposit, an unchangeable substance. There are various types of expression, the Pauline, the Johannine and others. Christianity is rather a body of truth, a life and thus a living, growing power capable of great variety of expression.

With great glory and power does the Christian element from the Scriptures enter theology. It comes with a great central doctrine, the doctrine of God. "A true theology is a true doctrine of God developed and applied." The Father as revealed and experienced by Jesus is the object of faith and the subject of theology. "God is such a God as Jesus lived with: this is one aspect. God is such a God as Jesus expressed: this is another. God is such a God as Jesus taught men to live with: this is yet another." The fundamentals of theology lie right here. "Theology is the orderly presentation of what we have reason to hold as true concerning God and the relations of men to him." It is in the light of the doctrine of God that the truth concerning man, sin, redemption, duty, destiny, etc., are to be studied.

In this method of approach to theology it is evident that we are in the realm of religion and not of philosophy and metaphysics. Jesus was not a teacher of philosophy or metaphysics but preeminently the teacher of religion. The religious life to him was an actuality. It needed no demonstration. The simple faith, an attitude of receptivity and readiness of positive action, kept him in constant fellowship with the Father and this too would bring men into His presence and lead them into their true destiny. The religious life is the true life.

This little volume of Dr. Clarke has a special value in the fact that it is positive and constructive. However much we may dissent from some of his conclusions, it is an unquestioned fact that he deals with principles which no man dare in these days neglect. Unless the Bible and the Christianity which has come out of it by the positiveness of the divine life which they reveal and claim can maintain themselves then they are doomed. Men in these days do not put their trust in philosophical and metaphysical theories, even though they be theories concerning the Scriptures and God but Christianity as history and life and power they respect and as ever, God manifest in Christ they will worship. Is *The Independent* extravagant when in an editorial estimate it

says of this book, that every minister "ought buy, beg or steal" it? At any rate, it is true that through it the conservative may better understand the liberal Christian and the liberal Christian will better understand himself and may well become more conservative.

EDWARD S. BROMER.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND CAPITAL. Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Co. Pages 226.

This is a thoughtful and thoroughly sane, as well as Christian, discussion of the labor problem. It consists of a series of four addresses known as the William L. Bull lectures on Christian Sociology for 1904. Each was delivered by a scholar of reputation and presents a distinct phase of the general problem.

Dr. Washington Gladden essays the difficult task of roughly sketching, in the brief compass of less than sixty pages, the progress of the labor problem from the slavery of primitive times to the complex industrial life of to-day. The fundamental fact of modern industrial conditions he finds to be, on the one hand, the gigantic aggregations of capital, extending even to the massing of the capital in an entire industry under one management; and, on the other, like aggregations of labor, consisting similarly of unions within trades and federations of trades and facing the first at every point in what is a state of actual war much of the time and never anything better than a sullen truce. And the great question then is simply this. What can be done to bring employer and employed together upon a basis of genuine good will? The writer contends not only that the laborer learned the principle of combination from the capitalist, but that in these days of great corporate combinations there can be no liberty for working men unless they are permitted to unite in the enforcement of their demands for better conditions. As supplementary means of securing better conditions the address discusses restrictive and directive legislation, and an enthusiasm for humanity, that altruistic feeling of which Kidd makes so much, which will refuse to tolerate injustice and oppression.

Mr. Talcott Williams writes on the corporation and his thesis is that every man has three relations, one to the State that rules, one to the faith that inspires and one to the economy that supports; that in the first two a democracy based on free self-hood is supreme and that what is true of these must be true sooner or later of the third; and that if the corporate principle of industrial organization does not make for this end it is doomed. Now the test of a democratic organization of society is, does it give the individual initiative, opportunity and security? These are the three requirements of a free life. Apparently the writer

finds little difficulty in demonstrating to his own satisfaction that both for the owner and the employee the corporation does attain the first two of these ends, although it must be said that his reasoning is not always as convincing as might be desired. But the third requirement is admitted to be still a desideratum for both owner and employee, and the only hope of its realization is in adequate law. The State must extend over the corporation the authority of its own law and scrutinize corporate activities at every step. Apart from this a democratic industrial economy is impossible; and, furthermore, if industry is not democratized it will pull down the pillars of the temple of political democracy, for "no State can remain lawless and under personal tyranny in its industry and enjoy liberty through law in its political institutions."

Rev. George Hodges presents in a sympathetic way the general problem from the standpoint of the laborer. The union he regards as the contemporary stage of the long progress from primitive slavery and which in the future may give way to something better and higher. The whole trade union movement is to-day rooted in the conviction of the laborer, a conviction that is constantly growing stronger, that he belongs to a separate and immutable social class out of which he does not expect to rise; and quite naturally, therefore, he demands that his reward be given him as a laborer. Now the only way in which he can enforce that demand is through combination and collective bargaining; for individually he is at a tremendous disadvantage with the corporate employer, while, on the other hand, that same employer cannot be trusted to deal fairly and justly with his employees by his own volition. As to the character and methods of unions the writer finds as much difference as among any other forms of social organization, as churches for instance, and pleads that they must not be judged by what is worst among them.

Perhaps the most interesting and luminous of the four addresses is that of Professor Francis G. Peabody who writes from the standpoint of that most important but usually neglected person, the consumer, who must always suffer for the blunders and greed of both labor and capital. This is particularly true of that recent phase of industrial organization in which, instead of warring with each other, the union and the trust enter into a coalition for their mutual benefit; so that whether the relation be one of war or peace the people are the sufferers in either event. To remedy this condition of things two courses have been suggested: (1) That the people must simply learn to content themselves with being the spoils of the conflict for they are helpless; (2) that the people must assert themselves, take control of industry and produce and distribute for themselves. The latter

spells Socialism and is deemed by many the only solution of the problem. On the other hand there are so many objections to Socialism that thoughtful men will hesitate long before taking this irrevocable step. The writer offers a third alternative. "The strength of the people," he says, "lies in their detachment from the details of business and their judicial attitude towards its principles and methods. The force of public sentiment is strongest when it stands apart from the warfare of commercialism and estimates, stimulates or arrests its progress by wholesale judgments of justice, compassion and peace." The means by which this may be accomplished, the weapons by which the people may protect themselves, are education, better legislation made possible by better education, and above all the spiritualization of American life, for "the sins of the industrial order are at bottom the sins of the people; the evils of commercialism illustrate the character of the people; each economic abuse which is tolerated or winked at is a witness that the heart of the people is not right."

A. V. Hiester.

The Face Beyond the Door. By Coulson Kernahan. New York, A. C. Armstrong & Son, 3 and 5 West 18th St., 1904. Pages 110.

This is the third religious booklet by the same author. He claims to be neither a scholar nor a theologian and, therefore, discusses the great question of human immortality solely "as it presents itself to an imaginative temperament." In chaste English we are told the story of a Christmas dream. A man who had lost his boyhood faith in eternal life discusses with an angel of God who appears to him this great question. He still believes in God chiefly from the standpoint of an evolutionist, but he cannot accept the assurance that God takes a father's interest in every individual and tells a very sad story to demonstrate this doubt. The angel gently leads him to clearer visions, until the scene on Calvary is presented to his gaze, when in the characters of the two thieves he recognizes his own fallen nature, and the Lord's promise "this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise" removes the suffering man's doubts. It is a beautiful meditation beautifully told.

R. C. Schiedt.

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I.

"'TIS *SAYING* MAKES IT SO."

PROF. C. ERNEST WAGNER, A.M.

When Shakspere put into the mouth of Hamlet the words, "There's nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so," he gave proof of having sounded, in his own thinking, the depths of all philosophy. In them he embodies one of those pregnant truths which set going a train of ideas, boundless in extent, immeasurable in possibility. But, as one advances in life, and allows one's faculties free play upon men and things, the conviction grows that, after all, the Hamlets are few, the Shaksperes fewer still; that Lord Bacon was perhaps not far wrong when he affirmed: "There is in mankind more of the fool than of the wise"; that Puck was not merely jesting when, with easy assurance, he cried: "What fools these mortals be!" For, if men are to be judged by what they have thought, said, and done, *in the mass*—by the sum total of conduct and achievement—one must conclude that they have, consciously or unconsciously, adopted, as the ultimate, all-inclusive proposition, this modified form of the great thinker's dictum: "There's nothing either true or false, but saying makes it so." How else may we interpret many of the most interesting phenomena of life and thought?

An ancient Hebrew chronicler (who shall tell us his name, and where he lived or when?) saw fit to cast into literary form the story of the beginning of created things then current among the sages of his tribe or people. With a circumstantial accuracy which makes the story read like the account of an eye-witness, he narrates the several stages. That there may be no misapprehension as to the time required for the completion of each process, he says: "And God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day." Then follows an account of the remaining five days' work, each process being distinctly marked, and its completion as distinctly indicated. In conclusion we are told: "And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day. Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all the work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made." Hence the origin of the Jewish Sabbath, the holy seventh day, the day of rest.

For thousands of years a goodly portion of the human family (and by far the most enlightened portion, we who are of it are proud to maintain) accepted implicitly and literally this ancient account. But, finally, arose the science of geology; and there, in the pages of the great Stone Book, in characters absolutely unalterable by human agency, and inscribed by the hand of God himself, were traced the records of terrestrial creation. Then it became apparent that the days of our Hebrew historian must be lengthened out into ages, the years of which cannot be numbered; that the order in which he had disposed the several stages must be materially changed; that little, if any, coincidence appears in the order of land and water products.

And how was this momentous discovery received? By the open-minded, with reverent, unspeakable joy. For lo! instead of a conjuror or magician—at whose word suns blaze forth their light, order springs from chaos, sea and land and air are peopled, man stands erect in the image of his maker, and woman is opportunely formed from a superfluous masculine rib—the God of the universe is revealed to us in all his glory, majesty, and power; a God who works by processes, gradual in development, infinite in duration; a God who knows not days or hours, times or seasons; whose only limitation, so far as man can discover, is the limitation of his own self-contrived, self-imposed law. To the reverent mind how unspeakably grand and satisfying is all this! How much wiser than the accurate finality of the historian's words seems now the outburst of the adoring, inspired poet of that same remote age, who chants in rhythmic accents the praises of a God "which doeth great things past finding out; yea, and wonders without number!" By the thinking man the God of the Hebrew Genesis is gladly relinquished for the great God of the universe, whose works proclaim him to us far more truly than can any human word.

Another, or the same, author embodies in literature the story of the Flood. With a certitude that has likewise proved convincing for untold centuries, it is related how that "it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. And the Lord said, I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them." But a certain Jewish patriarch finds grace in the eyes of the Lord, and is by him commissioned to preserve life upon the face of the earth. And so the ark is built; and "every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort, went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the

breath of life." The subsequent details of the story need no repetition here. For countless generations fathers and mothers solemnly rehearsed them to their wondering children; until at last reason, prompted by paleontology, again spoke, and the non-occurrence of a universal flood after the appearance of human life upon the earth was clearly demonstrated.

A Jewish psalmist, fired with indignation against the enemies of his God, vividly portrays, as he conceives it, the character of Jehovah. "Thine hand shall find out all thine enemies: thy right hand shall find out those that hate thee. Thou shalt make them as a fiery oven in the time of thine anger: the Lord shall swallow them up in his wrath, and the fire shall devour them. Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth, and their seed from among the children of men. For they intended evil against thee; they imagined a mischievous device, which they are not able to perform. Therefore shalt thou make them turn their back, when thou shalt make ready thine arrows upon thy strings against the face of them. Be thou exalted, Lord, in thine own strength: so will we sing and praise thy power." For ages thereafter, that is accepted by pious souls as a true delineation of the character of God.

Again, a Jewish prophet, moved to anger by the obduracy of his people, proposes a test of prowess between himself, the sole surviving prophet of the Lord, and the prophets of Baal, four hundred and fifty in number. With dramatic impressiveness the trial is made; the God of the Hebrews vindicates his superiority; the followers of Baal are completely routed; and thus ends the story: "And when all the people saw it they fell on their faces: and they said, the Lord, he is the God; the Lord, he is the God. And Elijah said unto them, Take the prophets of Baal, let not one of them escape. And they took them: and Elijah brought them down to the brook Kishon, and slew them there."

Here is a purely tribal God victorious over another tribal God, and, actuated by obviously human instincts, establishing

his unquestioned supremacy. What persecutions, what imprisonments, what tortures, what martyrdoms have been endured by the sons of men in the name of that God, who shall dare to estimate or declare? But,

> "Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
> Thanks to its tenderness, its joys, and fears,"

we have now attained to the conception of a very different God—an all-powerful, all-wise, all-just, and yet all-merciful Father—of whom anger, violence, and revenge are inconceivable attributes. The regenerate human feeling of to-day answers with a shudder of repugnance to many of the Old Testament characterizations of Deity. To us the marvel is that saying could ever have made such things even seem true. And yet, it may be remarked, there still live, in our own land and in this present year of grace, apologists of the whale story, who seek to reconstruct a monster of the deep that shall meet all the ancient specifications. Yea, more; there are those who, with an astronomical skill that puts to shame the achievements of a Kepler, are prepared to demonstrate the phenomenon immemorially associated with the name of Joshua.

In the first half of the fifth century, the good Hilary, Bishop of Arles, was moved to compose the so-called "Athanasian Creed", in which he sought to embody most explicitly the Trinitarian views of Athanasius, the great opponent of Arius. Hear its opening words: "Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith. Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." This "confession of our Christian faith" was incorporated in the English Book of Common Prayer, and its use prescribed by Church law upon some thirteen different Feast Days. For well-nigh five hundred years loyal churchmen devoutly proclaimed their faith in the terms of this extraordinary symbol. Finally, however, in the second half of the nineteenth century, an enlightened Christian consciousness asserted itself, and the prescription of

the Prayer Book became practically a dead letter. On the other hand, by a singular fatuity, the middle years of this same century witnessed the confirmation of an unbroken "Apostolic Succession" in the English hierarchy—a fact of the very existence of which hosts of good churchmen, since the days of Henry VIII., had been totally oblivious, and to which, happily, hosts of others are magisterially indifferent now. But, to those who would believe, it is the very sheet-anchor of Anglican autonomy.

Again, the Infallibility of the Pope, a moot-point for centuries, is made an article of faith in the year 1870; and good Romanists find themselves confronted by a trying dilemma. Shall they accept the say-so of canonical decree? Or shall they, with open mind, draw some seemingly unavoidable conclusions from the records of Papal acts and measures?

Once more, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, first broached by St. Bernard, and stoutly maintained by Duns Scotus and his disciples, is not received by the Roman Church, as an article of belief, until the year 1854. Not content with the doctrine of Christ's supernatural conception and birth, these fortifiers of divinity must needs go back and establish by assertion the sinless conception of the Virgin Mother herself. Curious indeed are the workings of the human mind when bent upon the accomplishment of some pre-determined purpose! "The wish is father to the thought"; the thought, in turn, becomes father to the word; and, by the fatherly offices of the word, the fact emerges into being.

Upon a thinking man, it is hardly necessary to add, measures such as these, intended to establish church authority, have an effect directly the reverse. 'Tis not, after all, the decree of Council or Synod, the edict of Pope or Bishop that constitutes authority, that challenges loyalty and devotion. Nay rather, it is the Master himself who has taught us all how to judge; and his test is delightfully simple and easy of application: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

That the mind of man could elaborate and, in all serious-

ness, inculcate the hideous doctrine of predestination, with its concomitants of election and eternal perdition; that thousands of sentient human beings could accept such doctrine and for generations suffer themselves to be thereby exalted or cast down—is of itself sufficient proof of the principle here maintained. By it an innocent, sweet-natured Cowper was hounded to a madman's grave; upon it a no less genial Lamb resolutely turned his back, and was spared to live a wholesome, rational life, struggling bravely and becoming, as any hero may, master of his fate.

In the second century of the Christian era, a certain Ptolemy of Alexandria—mathematician, geographer, astronomer—elaborated, after patient and prolonged research, a system of cosmogony, since known as the Ptolemaic theory. To his own satisfaction he proved the earth to be the centre of the universe, about which revolved the sun, moon, stars, and planets. For fourteen hundred years, to all intents and purposes, the earth *was* the centre of creation; and great was the complacency of the inhabitants thereof. Poets sang, philosophers reasoned, orators rhapsodized, in blissful ignorance of God's yet unrevealed secret.

Then arose a seer, a thinker, who, having eyes to see and an intellect to deduce, penetrated the veil that had shrouded the mystery. At the word of Copernicus, in 1543, the old order crumbled into nothingness, and a new heavens and a new earth sprang into being. The sun now became the centre of a system (one of countless many), and round it were seen to revolve, in exquisite harmony, the several planets and—our own somewhat insignificant globe. And Copernicus became, forthwith, a heartily execrated man. His teaching was revolutionary, disquieting, annoying. Astronomies had, of necessity, to be re-written, and long-cherished theories to be re-adjusted to the new helio-centric idea. Even Milton, student and scholar, writing as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, exhibits, in *The Paradise Lost,* a curious reluctance to yield his assent to the new view. He appears to waver between the old

Ptolemaic idea and the then generally accepted (by men of science, at least) Copernican theory. And poor Galileo, it will be remembered, was summoned to Rome, in the year 1633, and forced by the Inquisition to abjure the Copernican and other pernicious theories. To certain of his physical demonstrations the learned men of the church and the universities naïvely replied "These things can not be; for Aristotle distinctly taught the reverse." *Ipse dixit,* truly! 'Twas saying made it so, in spite of ocular proof to the contrary. Anent such incidents as these, one is tempted to wonder what shall be the attitude of our representative poets and ecclesiastics toward the theory of evolution in, say, the year 1960, a full century after the publication of *The Origin of Species.*

Coming down, now, to our own land, to our own time, to our own civilization, let us try to dispossess ourselves, for the nonce, of certain preconceived prejudices and inherited predilections, and, with clear, unclouded vision, venture to look at a few of our "consecrated fallacies"—as they may be happily termed.

When Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence he felt impelled, by the exigencies of time and circumstance, to propound the fundamental and "self-evident" truth: "All men are created free and equal." Verily, a beautiful sentiment, and, if one is willing or able to ignore certain self-evident facts, fundamentally true, as well. The freedom and equality of all men before the law, no man, who is sane and just, would have the hardihood, for one moment, to question. Upon this principle, as upon a firm and stable foundation, rests the fabric of civilized human society. When it is undermined or seriously weakened, the superstructure must needs totter and fall. For it good men are willing to do battle and die. It is when the principle is extended beyond these self-evident and legitimate bounds, that truth is overthrown, that mischief and confusion begin. For, to say, in any other sense than the political, that "all men are created free and equal" is to utter a palpable falsehood; to accept and

actively promulgate, or even tacitly acquiesce in, such a principle is to promote error, and complacently yield to fallacy.

The teachings of biology, the law of heredity, must be fully renounced, before one can yield assent to Jefferson's dictum. If a healthy and vigorous or a diseased and enfeebled organism may be transmitted by parents to offspring; if certain well-defined mental and moral traits are the legacy of father and mother to new-born child; how then can all men be "created free and equal?", equal, as to physical and mental endowments? free, so far as moral aptitudes are concerned? If opportunity and endeavor, if high ideals and patient cultivation, if a sound mind decently housed in a sound body through one, two, or three generations,—if all these things mean nothing, so far as the breeding of a superior human creature is concerned—then biology has taught us amiss, then the influence of environment and the law of heredity are figments of the imagination.

Viewed in this light, the dogma of human equality is not only fallacious; it is essentially evil; it is unspeakably pernicious. Because untrue and unjust, it is degrading. It cuts the nerve of high achievement; it saps the springs of intellectual distinction, of moral superiority. It operates in human society as the law of the trades-union works among craftsmen. It is, in short, the curse of democracy, which would bring down those who are essentially better to the dead level of mediocrity, and institute the reign of the universal commonplace.

So accustomed we are to look at the other side of this matter —to have our eyes blinded by the glitter of specious half truths and our ears deafened by the stentorian shout of the multitude, re-inforced by the voices of those who ought to know better but apparently do not, who ought to be better but evidently are not—that we find it difficult, even in an hour of tranquil reflection, to bring our eyes to see the other side of the truth, to compose our ears to hear the "still small voice" within.

Why, if not because of Jefferson's say-so and its logical out-

come, do educated, enlightened, and upright Americans shrink from giving any outward evidence of superiority? Why are they afraid to seem better than their fellows, in language, manners, ethical standards, conduct and views of life? We are proud to assert that Americans are the best educated, best paid, best housed, best fed, best clothed, best natured people in the world. So perhaps they are, when taken in the mass. The fact, however, remains, as those who have had the opportunity to observe will testify, that the highest type of individual character is not being developed in America—unless, forsooth, it be maintained that self-abnegation, or the sinking of oneself in the mass, is the crown and flower of human being. For the virtues of moral courage, scorn of money, independence of thought, indifference to the opinions and standards of inferior men, tranquil dignity, and imperious self-respect one must go elsewhere—to a land where all men are not and never were "created free and equal." The characteristic virtues of a democracy we may and do exhibit; the transcendent traits of a cultivated and superior class are of necessity denied us.

The prevailing use of the words "lady" and "gentleman" is a sufficient illustration of the principle under discussion. A sort of barometer it is, that indicates the condition of the social atmosphere in which we live. The noble word "woman" is obsolescent among us, and bids fair to become, within a generation, totally obsolete. The honest word "man" is likewise losing vogue. On the basis of the Declaration all our men have become gentlemen, all our women, ladies. There are those who view this with indifference, or who see in it only material for ridicule and laughter. But, surely, there is in it much to startle and confound. For what does it all mean? We are enslaved to a fallacy. Few of us have the courage to use the word "man," fewer still the word "woman," for just what it means and just where it belongs. We have suffered the word "lady" to be so abused that it has come finally to mean absolutely nothing. It has lost its function, and is now little more than a synonym for female. "Gentleman,"

too, has forfeited much of its ancient dignity, and signifies little or nothing as one hears it used to-day. But what should concern us most is, that, with the giving up of verbal distinction, goes inevitably the relinquishment of what the words formerly connoted. When ladies and gentlemen are constituted by the say-so of flippant speech, we know how cheap and shoddy and pitiable the finished product must of necessity be. In our thinking and our striving we need to keep before us the old-time ideals, would we appreciate and achieve the reality.

On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln, as commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, declared as a military measure, in accordance with notice proclaimed September 22, 1862, that within certain specified territory in armed rebellion, all persons held as slaves "are and henceforward shall be free." All honor to the sainted Lincoln for his wisdom, courage, and magnanimity! His act has been sufficiently celebrated in song and story, by statesman, publicist, orator, and moralist. Theoretically, it was great and glorious—one of those spectacular strokes of statesmanship which dazzle the popular mind. To this day we hear the shackles dropping from the negro's limbs, we behold the slave metamorphosed freeman, assuming the rights and prerogatives of full-fledged citizenship.

But, marvelous as was the achievement, we know that this was not the plan devised by Lincoln's wisdom and approved by his sober judgment. No, in the light of subsequent history—painful history, made during two-score years and more—we, who are still confronted by the negro problem, who are still wrestling with the heritage of that memorable proclamation, may be permitted to regret that Lincoln's original policy was not suffered to prevail. We may be pardoned for deploring the military or partisan exigencies which seemed to make necessary this political *tour de force.* We recognize the impossibility of making the African and the slave, by a simple stroke of the pen, the equal of the free-born American; we

are heartily sorry that the method of gradual emancipation, as practised in most of the original northern States, in the British and Spanish West Indies, and in Brazil, could not have been put into execution. For then might have been achieved what education and civilization—the slow, patient, persistent effort of many years—alone can accomplish. Forty-three years have elapsed, and the negro of the South is not free to-day. In no sense is he the white man's equal; even his political and legal rights are not respected. What he is in the North we know to our sorrow.

Indeed, as a people, we are too prone to put our trust in words, edicts, acts, and proclamations. We are enamored of the fallacy that "Saying makes things so." Our entire fabric —political, economic, social—is honeycombed by it. We pin our faith to tariff schedules and customs duties; we take delight in Sunday laws and all manner of blue laws; in laws that prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors and the use of cigarettes; in laws which any self-respecting man instinctively resents, because they assail personal liberty; and then, having countenanced the passing of all these laws, we serenely suffer them to be broken one by one. Dare we resent too hotly the facetious foreigner's query "Do the Americans keep any of their laws but the Divorce Law and Lynch Law?" We issue from our mints a huge and pretentious-looking coin, which we call a dollar. We know it to be worth, intrinsically, about forty-five cents. On the obverse side we place a Liberty head, on the reverse, a spread-eagle, and between its wings, the legend: "In God we Trust." The nations of the civilized world, however, considered the disparity between nominal and real value too great; and, in consequence, we have wisely concluded, in matters of exchange, to adhere to the gold standard.

Matthew Arnold was a shrewd observer, a keen critic, an honest thinker, and withal a frank and just, yet kindly man. In his criticism of his own countrymen he was always serious and outspoken, often severe and searching. Among certain glaring defects exhibited by men of his day, and notably by

religious thinkers and leaders, he remarked a certain "want of intellectual seriousness," which, in his opinion, led often to disastrous and lamentable results. By this intellectual seriousness he meant an honest, straightforward attempt to "see things as they really are," an "unimpeded play of thought" about a subject, in the earnest endeavor to arrive at inherent and essential truth. With vehement insistence he pleaded for the cultivation of the "intellectual conscience," a faculty, he maintained, hardly more than rudimentary in the Anglo-Saxon type. "The word conscience," he declares, "has become almost confined, in popular use, to the moral sphere, because this lively susceptibility of feeling is, in the moral sphere, so far more common than in the intellectual sphere; the livelier, in the moral sphere, this susceptibility is, the greater becomes a man's readiness to admit a high standard of action, an ideal authoritatively correcting his everyday moral habits; here, such willing admission of authority is due to sensitiveness of conscience. And a like deference to a standard higher than one's own habitual standard in intellectual matters, a like respectful recognition of a superior ideal is caused, in the intellectual sphere, by sensitiveness of intelligence." And, again, he says: "The mass of mankind will never have any ardent zeal for seeing things as they are; very inadequate ideas will always satisfy them. On these inadequate ideas reposes, and must repose, the general practice of the world. That is as much as saying that whoever sets himself to see things as they are will find himself one of a very small circle; but it is only by this small circle resolutely doing its own work that adequate ideas will ever get current at all."

Surely, the crying need of our own day, as it was of Arnold's, is an intellectual evangel, a crusade which will arouse men to think before they say, allege, proclaim; a quickening of the intellectual conscience, which will impel them to know "the best that is known and thought in the world," and by that knowledge intinctively reject the inferior, the tawdry, the untrue. A Torrey and Alexander mission may be neces-

sary; an Arnold mission, if it might serve to arouse us from our intellectual lethargy, would be even more beneficial. For, what we need, above all things, to cultivate is "a free play of thought upon our routine notions," what we shall do well, at all times, carefully to inquire is "whether the light we have be the best light that can be obtained; or whether, perchance, it be not darkness."

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II.

IS DIVINE AND REVEALED RELIGION WITHIN THE SCOPE OF SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS AND STATEMENT?*

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Before attempting an answer to the question, here propounded, it may be well to look for a definition of the terms employed. It is true, we use all of them in our common speech, as if their meaning were perfectly clear; yet, it is to be feared, we do not always weigh their meaning as carefully as we ought. As a consequence, our conceptions often lack precision.

1. What do we mean by divine and revealed religion? There is a sense in which all religion, so far as it contains a knowledge of God, is revealed; and all religions do contain some knowledge of God. There is not a religion which does not contain an idea of a Supreme Being; and though the idea may be overlaid by superstition and error, it contains some light with reference to things divine. And inasmuch as God can be known only as He manifests Himself to us, it follows that there must be some form of revelation in all ethnic religions. To this truth Paul refers, when he says, "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God manifests it unto them. For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made even His everlasting power and divinity" (Rom. 1: 19, 20).

If ethnic religions thus contain an element of revelation and divinity, we can certainly affirm no less of Judaism. All

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who believe in the decalogue, believe that God spake on Sinai. We believe that He spake unto the fathers by the prophets. It was, it is true, "by divers portions and in divers manners," as they were able to receive it; yet it was most real. The religion of Israel was both divine and revealed—in these respects far in advance of the religions of the Gentile peoples round about them.

And yet even in the religion of Israel the revelation of God was both fragmentary and imperfect. It pointed to something beyond itself. The God, who spoke to Israel by the prophets "by divers portions and in divers manners" had a still richer and fuller manifestation of Himself in store for His people. He hath in these last days spoken unto us in His Son. He is the effulgence of the Father's glory, and the very image His substance (Heb. 1: 3); so that all who have seen Him, in the sense of recognizing who and what He is, have seen the Father. And by the side of the revelation, which is given in Him, all other revelation, even that through Moses and the prophets, fades into insignificance; and all other religions appear as no religions by the side of that which contains this revelation through the Son. By divine and revealed religion we hence assume that the religion of Jesus Christ is meant.

2. What do we mean by scientific analysis? Science has been defined as "knowledge gained and verified by exact observation and correct thinking"; again as "an exact and systematic statement of knowledge concerning some subject or group of subjects." It is knowledge gained by observation; it may afterwards be verified by correct thinking; but its starting point is observation. Now, observation presupposes facts; and hence science must ultimately rest upon facts. Systems of thought may be built upon speculation; they may be built upon pure hypotheses; but unless the hypotheses are verified by facts, the systems, which are built upon them, can have no claim to the title of science. And they never stand the test of time. Any system of knowledge, deserving the

name of science, must rest upon a broad and patient induction of facts; and the facts must enter our knowledge through experience.

3. Another preliminary observation ought to be made on the word analysis. Analysis consists in the resolution of any object, whether of sense or intellect, into its constituent elements. An ultimate fact, like a simple substance, does not admit of analysis. Before a thing can come within the scope of analysis, it must be composed of constituent elements, which can be separated, and separately apprehended.

And scientific analysis implies that a fact or group of facts be resolved into their constituent elements; that the fact or group of facts, together with their constituent elements, be made the subject of accurate observation; and that the knowledge, thus obtained, be accurately verified by correct thinking.

Now, taking Christianity as the only religion to which we can ultimately apply the terms revealed and divine, does it come within the scope of such analysis? Is it composed of such constituent elements as can be separated and made the subject of accurate observation? And can the knowledge, which is gained by such observation, be so verified by correct thinking as to bring it within the scope of true scientific statement?

This, as I understand it, is the meaning of the question, which this association has propounded to me. And to the question, as thus stated, I would return both an affirmative and a negative answer, according to the limits which it is proposed to set for the observation and the analysis. The answer will be negative, if the demand is to make the observation and the analysis comprehensive and final; but affirmative, if, as is done in all other science, the analysis is allowed to proceed on the basis of such observations as can be made by our limited and imperfect experiences.

Such a thing as a comprehensive and final analysis is possible in very few, if any, of the sciences. There is probably no fact or group of facts, which have been so fully, so ac-

curately observed that there remains nothing further to be learned about them; and hence there is no science which is complete or final. A text-book on science, which is ten or twenty years old, is for that reason nearly always out of date. And what is true of botany and geology—sciences, whose object is so nearly within the reach of human observation,—must of course be true of theology—a science whose subject of necessity transcends the reach both of our observation and of our comprehension. And hence, if the object is to bring Christianity within the scope of scientific statement and analysis in such sense as to enable us to construct a finished, a complete, and a final scientific statement of its meaning and contents, we must answer your question in the negative. There can be no such thing as a final scientific statement of Christian doctrine, which can be transmitted from age to age, to be accepted by each succeeding generation without question or restatement. Here as in all the sciences, we should rather say more than in all the other sciences, each generation is bound to test, to verify, and to restate the statements of all preceding generations, and to subject its own religious experiences as well as the religious experiences of all preceding generations to new tests, and on the basis of its own living observations to restate them for itself.

But if by the scope of scientific analysis and statement of Christian doctrine nothing more is meant than in the case of all the other sciences, we would answer the question unhesitatingly in the affirmative. The Christian religion is a great and glorious fact. It has touched our humanity in its profoundest depths. It has influenced and changed the course of history. It has uplifted, ennobled and purified our human life. It has given us new and higher ideas of God. It has placed before us a perfect ideal of our human life in the person of its Founder. And in Him it has given us such an embodiment of truth, virtue and goodness, that we now have the full and final revelation of the divine.

And these facts are open to our observation. They have

entered into our human experiences as really as any set of facts which can be mentioned. And in as far as they have entered into the experience of our common humanity, they may be made the subject of as careful, as accurate, and as scientific observation and research as any set of facts, which come within the reach of our experience. They are composite facts, which can be resolved into their elements, and hence come within the scope both of scientific analysis and statement. Theology may be just as really a science as geology or botany.

In making this statement, it may, however, be well to note carefully the conditions on which such scientific analysis and statement of religious truth must proceed.

1. And here we would state as our first proposition that theology, in order to be scientific, must rest upon facts. Pure speculation has no more place here than it has in geography or botany. Hypotheses may be employed for the sake of setting forth truth in a systematic and orderly form, just as hypotheses are employed in all other sciences; but the hypotheses must be tested and verified by correct and careful observation of facts. Where a sufficient number of undoubted facts support and confirm the hypotheses, they may become part of the accepted scientific statement of religious truth; but where this is not the case, they can have no claim to anything better than creations of the imagination, perhaps interesting in themselves, but of absolutely no value for the scientific statement of divine truth.

And such facts for scientific observation and analysis are found in abundance in the religious experience of mankind. As above stated, religion is a fact. The Christian religion is a great and glorious fact. It centers in a historic person, Jesus Christ our Lord. That He lived and taught and died and rose again is as well established as any fact in human history. His own religious experience has become part of the religious experience of mankind. What He thought and felt with reference to God and man's relation to God has become a

fact of history, and has been transmitted to all generations through His words and deeds just as really as what Socrates taught and felt has been transmitted to us. And the life and teaching of Jesus Christ have profoundly influenced the history of mankind. His work and His teachings have started a religious movement among men, more powerful than any other that has ever been known. Men and women in all ages and climes have been singularly affected by this movement. Countless lives have been changed, purified, ennobled, and sanctified by His influence. His teaching has given peace to troubled consciences the world over. And He has just as profoundly influenced the social and political life of mankind. All our social and ethical ideals have been purified and ennobled by His teaching. Much as we may deplore the social and political corruption about us to-day, there is scarcely a comparison between the condition of society in these particulars to-day and that of society at the time of His advent. One only needs to go through the ruins of Pompeii and allow his guide to open to him the little closets in which are hidden the obscenities which once were openly exhibited in that wicked city, to have incontestable proof of this statement.

Now these, and thousands of similar facts, belonging to the religious experiences of our Christian centuries, form a basis for scientific investigation, as really as the rocks, and the plants, and the fauna of the earth form the basis for scientific investigation in the sphere of natural science. And they form the basis and furnish the material for a scientific theology just as really as plants and animals furnish the basis and the materials for the sciences of botany and zoology.

2. These facts must enter into human experience before they can be made the basis of scientific investigation and analysis. It need not necessarily be my experience or your experience, but it must be the experience of some member of the human family. It may be the experience of that unique person, who stood in an altogether unique relation to God, and who has originated and given impulse to that entire

religious phenomenon, which we call Christianity. It matters not how the fact has entered into the experience of mankind, the point is that it must in some way have entered into the experience of the race, before it can become the subject of scientific investigation or statement.

And that the Christian revelation has thus entered into the experience of the race is a fact which can not be doubted. To take but three illustrations out of the entire realm of Christian theology, we readily perceive how Christ's conception of the divine Fatherhood, how God's acknowledgement of Jesus as the Christ, and how the atonement affected by Christ have become facts of human experience.

Jesus taught His disciples in coming to the throne of grace to say "Our Father, who art in heaven." He Himself had the consciousness of standing in a unique filial relation to God. As a child, twelve years old, He said, "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" and as a man, he habitually addressed God as, "Father," or "My Father." The term expressed His own, inmost and deepest religious experience. And the term, "Our Father," placed into the lips of his followers, expresses a similar religious experience in the hearts of his followers. There is something in the bosom of mankind which responds just as intuitively and just as unerringly to the light which is shed upon our hearts by that term, as there is something in our eyes to respond to the light of the sun in the heavens. That God is our Father has become a part of the undoubted experience of mankind; and it is hence a fact which may be subjected to scientific tests and analysis, just as much as any other fact of human experience.

Again, at the Jordan and on the mount of transfiguration, we are told, there was a voice from heaven, saying, "Thou art my Son." We are not now concerned about the manner in which that voice was heard. Was it an outward, audible voice, speaking ordinary human words as we do, or was it an inner voice addressing itself to the conscience?—are questions which need not here concern us. The question is, Has

humanity heard that voice? Is there a sense in which that divine attestation has entered into human experience? We think there is. God spake in the words of wisdom which fell from the lips of Jesus. These were of the very essence of divine truth and goodness. God spoke in His deeds of beneficent kindness. Above all has He spoken in Christian history. For nineteen centuries the spiritually dead have been quickened into life, those who were "dead in sin and torpid" have learned to live decently, men and women everywhere have been restored to their right minds, love instead of selfishness has become the guiding star of countless lives—and all because of what He is to the race. Through all these facts God has been acknowledging Him as His Son. And through all these facts the race has heard the words, once spoken on the mount, "This is my beloved Son: hear ye Him."

Again: take the great fact of the atonement. Has that entered the experience of the race? We might appeal to the experience of St. Paul, how that inner conflict, described in the 7th of Romans, has been won in Christ, and how in Christ he attained peace with God. But has not that experience been reproduced in the lives of many, many thousands since then? Study the biography of Augustine, Luther, Bunyan, and of many others; analyze your own religious experience; and is not that substantially true of us all? Whatever our theory of the atonement may be, the fact has become a part of the common religious experience of God's people.

3. But this leads us to make still another affirmation. Divine and revealed religion are within the scope of scientific analysis and statement only for those who have part in this experience. The man who has no part in this experience may indeed study religious phenomena, as these are found in the experience of others and in the experience of the race; he may collect a number of the facts, and he may succeed in arranging them in a quasi-scientific form. But he will be without the key for a correct interpretation of the facts. As well might a blind man, who has never had the experience of sight,

undertake to study the science of optics and to explain the phenomena of light, as an unregenerate man, who has never had the experience of God's grace in his heart, the study and interpretation of the religious phenomena and experiences of God's people.

And if this be true, then two corollaries must follow:

1. A necessary equipment for the scientific apprehension and statement of divine and revealed religion is such an inner harmony with the truth as comes from a willing obedience to the divine will. This, as we all know, is the test which Jesus gave to the Jews. "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself" (Jn. 7: 17). For the scientific theologian the first requisite is an obedient will, not a brilliant intellect. Of course, the latter is needful; for a man who does not have trained powers of observation, the ability of sustained and accurate thinking, the mental grasp which can take in facts in their wholeness and in their relation, and the power of insight to see things as they are, can not be a successful theologian. No goody-goody imbecile, with good intentions, is fit for the task of the scientific statement and analysis of the Christian religion. A strong and well trained intellect is, of course, a necessary equipment. But the point, which I want to make, is that that is not primary. A deeper quality is needed. The theologian must first of all be in such inner moral and spiritual harmony with his subject as will enable him to see and know when the truth is openly set before his eyes. He must have the power of spiritual vision, before he can have the power of accurately observing, analyzing, and classifying spiritual facts and phenomena.

2. And this suggests a second corollary. The scientific apprehension and statement of spiritual truth must go hand in hand with the moral and spiritual regeneration of mankind. The race will reach a perfect apprehension of the truth when it has attained to a state of perfect obedience. Until then its apprehension must be as partial as its obedience.

It follows that, while there may be a provisional analysis and statement of the truths of revealed religion, there can be no final or finished statement in our present imperfect state. As each age has its own moral and social problems to solve, so must each age have its own theological problems. It can not rest in the theological definitions of a past generation. There can be no greater folly than the attempt to bind any generation by the theological formulas of the past. As the race grows morally and spiritually, it must grow intellectually; and unless theology keeps pace with the spiritual progress of the age, it will not simply lose its influence, but it must necessarily stagnate and die. The saddest spectacle of the ages is the theologian, who sits on the graves of his forefathers rattling their bones, and mechanically repeating their dogmatic statements. Theology must grow; as it grows, it must change; in its changes it must slough off the dead and worn-out definitions and confessional statements of the past. With its face toward God and heaven, it must be open to every new light that breaks from His Word; and it must hold itself in readiness to welcome and interpret every new religious experience, which the God of wisdom and grace may be pleased to vouchsafe to His people.

Of course, this does not mean that there has been any change in the eternal verities of our Christian faith. They are yea and amen forever. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever; and He is the same personal Saviour for me that He was for Peter and John. His saving deeds have the same efficacy for us as for the Christians of the Apostolic age; but our apprehension of His adorable person and of the significance of those saving deeds are very different. Indeed, it can not be otherwise. The Apostles' apprehension of His person and of the meaning of His acts was very different before and after His resurrection. To this John testifies: "These things understood not His disciples at the first; but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of Him, and that they had done these

things unto Him" (Jn. 12:16). The death, the resurrection, the glorification of Jesus, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit were new experiences for the disciples; and in the light of those experiences they attained a new and deeper apprehension of His glorious person. He Himself remained the same person; but their apprehension of Him changed. So with us. Nineteen centuries of Christian history have given us many new manifestations of His saving power and grace. Each one of these manifestations constituted a new experience for the Church; and each new experience gave to her a new glimpse of his glory. He has continued the same Lord throughout all the changes; His Spirit has continued the same Spirit of truth and grace; and the truth, unto which He has been leading all the successive generations of Christians, has continued the same truth. But His people have been led by Him, and they are being led by Him now. As he opened their minds, they saw ever more and more clearly; and with the clearer vision they were enabled to state and to restate their dogmatic definitions in ever clearer and clearer form. And so the process must go on from age to age, until, with the moral and spiritual perfection of the Christian life, we shall see Him as He is. Then, when we shall, with unveiled face, behold His glory, having ourselves been transformed into the same image from glory to glory, we shall know even as we are known. Then, but not until then, may the theologian expect to formulate a scientific statement of Christian doctrine that shall need no restatement; then, but not until then, may the Church expect to compose a confession of faith that shall need no revision.

III.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE RELIGION OF SOPHOKLES.

N. P. VLACHOS, PH.D.

The renewed activity that of late has manifested itself in the study of Greek religion has not equally extended over all its provinces. It is the older strata of Greek religion—primitive religious conceptions and archaic rites, that now mainly claim the attention of scholars; the Greek authors are principally studied as antiquarian depositories. But the individual religious beliefs of the great Greek poets receive but scant attention; and this in spite of the generally acknowledged fact that many of the great poets were the exponents and representatives of their national faith in its highest form of development and constituted a sort of religious prophetism among their people. The reason for this comparative neglect is, however, fairly obvious. Our evidence for popular beliefs and superstitions is constantly being added to; researches in other than purely "classical" fields, especially the labors of anthropologists have totally changed the aspect of Greek religion. But our evidence for the individual religion of each of the Greek poets is substantially the same to-day as it was three hundred years ago.

And therefore to open anew the question of Sophokles' religion may seem an unprofitable proceeding. And yet,—granted that our evidence has not appreciably increased, has not our point of view considerably changed? The latest exhaustive treatment of the subject is some twenty-five years old,* and written at a time when it was but too common to look upon Greek religion as a worship of various personified aspects of nature, with an ethical admixture, the whole being

* E. Abbott, "Theology and Ethics of Sophocles" in *Hellenica.*

measured by Christian standards. Assuredly, the extension of our knowledge of popular beliefs must also affect our estimate of the individual belief of a Sophokles.

Again, the study of popular beliefs, dealing as it does chiefly with the intellectual side of the religious consciousness holds out greater hopes of definite results to be obtained. But in endeavoring to determine the precise character of the religion of a poet like Sophokles we are confronted with difficulties that may well seem insuperable. Sophokles has left us no confession of faith. We have no evidence outside of his dramas, and for obvious reasons we should be cautious in using their contents,—utterances put in the mouth of the actors,—as evidence for the poet's personal belief. And the testimony of his dramas is not only of uncertain character, it is also fragmentary. Again, a merely mechanical method, the rigorous application of a certain set of rules may establish a few facts,—it cannot lead to an adequate realization of the true nature of that complicated aggregate of emotional and intellectual factors that go to make up the religious consciousness. The final interpretation of the facts in questions of this kind becomes largely a matter of intuition; consequently our views are subjective and there remains considerable room for difference of opinion. But if exact and positive knowledge on such points is beyond our reach, we can at least strive to make some progress in the desired direction.

In the present paper such an effort is made—an endeavor to bring nearer to us the religious personality of Sophokles, at least in some of its aspects, which, it is hoped, may contribute to a nicer appreciation of his dramas as works of a distinctly religious art.

Former writers on the subject have laid undue stress on the ethical element in Sophokles' religion. They began their inquiries, often perhaps unconsciously, by comparing Sophokles to his great predecessor, and invariably tried to determine the position of the one poet with reference to that occupied by the other. Now, in Aischylos the

question of theodicy is undoubtedly paramount. Consequently, when it came to be determined whether Sophokles' drama, from a religious point of view, constitutes an advance on or a retrogression from Aischylos, it was the connection between sin and suffering that was first inquired into. Then it would become plain that Sophokles did not perceive justice operating in a simple and direct way in God's dealings with man. Some writers, indeed, affirmed that the innocence of the Sophoklean sufferers was only apparent, and set themselves to prove the existence of some "guilt" or other on the part of an Oidipus, Antigone, Philoktetes, Deianeira. Others, while accepting the disproportion between the suffering of Sophokles' heroes and heroines and their guilt, attributed this to a profounder moral earnestness on the part of the poet, and to his closer observation of the facts of life. They affirmed that he "identified the empire of Zeus with an order of the world which is just and good"; they spoke of "redemption" and pointed to Oidipus; thus the gods finally made amends to Philoktetes; and Antigone's death was set down as "her constancy's reward." Again, there was found in Sophokles "an approach to that doctrine which the Hebrews learned in their captivity, of the blessedness of sorrow." Others, rejecting this mode of interpretation, for which not a particle of evidence can be found in Sophokles' works, thought that a child-like faith in the goodness and justice of the divine power characterises Sophokles and distinguishes him from Aischylos, —the faith of the pious to whom it is sufficient to perceive the hand of God, to make them adore and worship Him. Finally evidence has been found in some of his dramas of a mind strongly inclined toward a fatalistic view of life.

With all these writers it is the starting point that is at fault. Sophokles holds no place among the thinkers of Greece. His religion should be approached on its emotional, not on its intellectual side.

I would lay down as the fundamental truth from which to proceed, that Sophokles is almost wholly, if not exclusively,

swayed by his emotions, in all matters religious. The religious emotion,—so strong in him that it may fitly be called one of the constituent parts of his being,—consists primarily in man's consciousness that he is in the power of a being or beings whom he reveres as the all-powerful and supreme.* Since, then, the emotions are the dominating factor in his spiritual life, we should cease to look in his works for a clear-cut and well-thought-out doctrine regarding the divine; there is simply a broad and deep *feeling of god.* For his is the "religiosity" of the poet and artist; the speculations and theorizing of the theologian are foreign to his spirit.

Indeed, inherent in Sophokles' religion is its intellectual weakness; his religion is made up of the most glaringly incongruous elements,—the noblest aspirations and the belief in a god, commanding matricide, stand side by side. The last to build up a new system of theology, he did not even attempt to purge traditional belief from the lower elements it contained. Incapable of any such intellectual effort, he merely adapts to his personal needs what he finds at his disposal,—and that without exercising his reason in differentiating between the true and the false.

But if the intellect had little share in guiding his vague apprehensions and indefinite longings to a firmer conception of the divine,—how much greater was the scope he unconsciously allowed to his sense of wonder. Reverence and wonder lie at the basis of all that deserves the name of religion†; the sense of mystery is an indispensable element in the mental make-up of all religious persons,—in most confined within reasonable limits, but apt to run riot in people of one-sided emotional nature. This is just what happened in Sophokles' case. His sense of the mysterious was developed to a degree bordering on the abnormal; he seems to have felt a positive need of being moved by his gods to wonder and awe; a strange delight in suffering himself to be mystified by such decrees

* C. P. Tiele, "Elements of the Science of Religion," II., p. 19.

† Carlyle.

and manifestations of the divine power as baffled all human understanding; there existed in him a natural predisposition to discover a mysterious supernatural cause at work where to others a rational explanation sufficed.

For an illustration of this mental tendency on his part, let us examine his version of Deianeira's story. To the author of the *Medea* the jealousy of the heroine, culminating in a murderous deed, would have formed the center of interest. Not so with Sophokles. The element most strongly appealing to him was not the human but the divine element in the story; this he found in the fact that Deianeira slew her husband *unwittingly*. For that made the story another illustration of the contrast between appearance and reality, between the meaning of events as seen by man, and as designed by god. Forever prone to discern the hand of god, Sophokles nowhere detects the silent and mysterious influence of the deity more readily than where there is so striking a contrast between the end the human will aims at and that which it in fact achieves. Now, there are two innovations in Sophokles' version of the story. The first of these is the oracles,—one relating to the time, the other to the manner of Herakles' death. Both oracles may be safely set down as the pious invention of the poet. They go to prove that he wished to impress upon his audience that the fatal mistake of Deianeira was not merely an accident, but an event decreed by god and brought about by god, so that at the close of the play Hyllos may speak of the "sorrows manifold and strange; and in all this there is nought but Zeus,"—that is, as Professor Jebb explains, Zeus is manifested in each and all of these events. Where others, then, would have spoken of an "irony of fate," there Sophokles introduced oracles and felt the mysterious influence of an unseen presence.

The other innovation concerns Deianeira. To the mind of the average Athenian her name may have brought with it a suggestion of ferocity. In Sophokles' hands she grew into "a perfect type of gentle womanhood" (Jebb). Contrary to all legend, he placed her marriage at an early period of Herakles'

life, before he had performed the labors for Eurystheus. Thus all the fears and anxieties of the devoted wife who knows her husband constantly exposed to grave perils, fell to her lot; these were the ties that bound her to her husband. "From youth upwards she has endured constant anxieties relieved only by gleams of happiness,—the rare and brief visits of Heracles to his home" (Jebb). Whatever act of disloyalty to her Heracles has been guilty of, she has condoned and against this new rival, who is to share her home, she feels no hatred, no bitterness even; she only wishes to retain the place that is hers by right of these many years of devotion and suffering.

What, now, caused Sophokles to depart so widely from tradition? We may judge of the cause by the effect attained; such portrayal of Deianeira immeasurably heightened the appalling significance of that "unwittingly." The mystery in which the whole episode is shrouded is deepened; god chose the gentlest hand to strike the most cruel blow.

But the mystical pantheism of Sophokles is only a feeling of god, a rather vague consciousness of the omnipresence of the divine, which makes no attempt to draw a clear line between human will and divine agency. And throughout the *Trachiniæ* there is no hint even that the question as to the motive of the terrible deity ever suggested itself to the poet's mind. He only bids the spectator feel the presence of that Ineffable Something there, and wonder, and be humble.

This sense of wonder will mainly account for his profound consciousness of human limitations, keener in him perhaps than in any other Greek, and for the meek submission of his reason to what it takes to be the hidden counsels of God. His attitude towards this god, with whom man cannot and may not reason became one of *unqualified submission.* And again, closely connected with his sense of the mysterious is his consciousness of the "Nichtigkeit" of human life; for man is moving in utter darkness, entirely at the mercy of a power

whose ways are past understanding; therefore human life is all uncertainty.

But it will be readily understood that the open, crude and violent interference of the gods in human affairs in which former generations had believed, meant little or nothing to Sophokles. Scholars have rightly observed in Herodotus an inclination "to contract the limits of the Supernatural." This observation would also hold good of Sophokles, who had so much in common with the historian. At the same time these limits are indefinitely expanded. Sophokles eliminates all manifestation of the divine power, showing itself in rude and sudden disturbance of existing order. God's work is not to be perceived by the human eye; not by the senses; it is rather to be apprehended, dimly felt by the heart. For not by outward visible act, but in a subtle mysterious way, evading rational analysis, God works out his will. And, therefore, since he naturally discerns the divine everywhere, the scope of the divine agency is indefinitely expanded, God's influence pervading the entire sphere of human life. The clear daylight in which gods and men move in the Homeric poems is replaced in the Sophoclean drama by a twilight where all outline is dimmed, all movement assumes a mysterious aspect.*

* The *Elektra* forms the only exception; here for once god stands *outside;* this accounts for the Homeric qualities of the play, which have often been noted. But Sophokles' version of the story is a purely conventional one, with its calm condonation of matricide. Conventional is also the *deus ex machina* in the *Philoktetes*, and the prologue of the *Aias*. Yet, even in the *Philoktetes* we have the truly Sophoklean contrast between appearance and reality; the councils of Zeus reserved the wretched outcast as the saviour of the Greeks. And in the *Aias* the conventional Athena is speedily dropped and the dark, nameless power that plays such an appalling rôle in the lives of the Sophoklean heroes is once more in control. After his madness is past, Aias still labors under the divine influence, *θείᾳ μανίᾳ ξύνανλος* (611), as the chorus surmises. And we are informed in so many words by the seer Kalchas. Here again we have an innovation of Sophokles' hand,—a peculiar touch, characteristic of the poet, and strikingly parallel to the one in the Trachiniae, noted above. Sophokles again refuses to present Aias' deed in its purely human aspects; not only a sense of shame and despair drove the hero

There is a wide gulf separating the "naif" belief of the Homeric man in his humanized gods from the mystical pantheism of a Sophokles.

But feeling the immediate presence of his god, he not only must have been constantly on the alert for a sign, be it in dream or portent, to guide his conduct; not only must have desired to draw near to that power, easily offended, to propitiate its anger and win its favor,—but at times must have felt an imperative need to lose himself in God, his own will in that of the Deity, to feel at one with it, in order to attain the "blessedness" and peace of mind of the truly religious man, —a need that may have found its fittest expression in devout acts of worship.

This is the mystic side of his religion. Indicative of this tendency towards mysticism are the reverence in which he holds the utterances of the Pythia, the mouthpiece of Apollo; his reverence for Teiresias, the inspired prophet; his belief in the potency of dreams in conveying the will of the deity; the veneration in which he holds the Eleusinian mysteries. Additional evidence is contained in the scholium on *Elektra* 831, "he was a most pious man," which can only mean that Sophokles had been known to discharge his religious duties with scrupulous zeal. Tiele has justly observed that "worship always involves a certain mystic element," and that "worship must be pervaded with a genuine and healthy mysticism, it must be inspired with belief, without which it is nothing."* Close observance of the ritual may, indeed, be due to various causes; and there is no reasonable doubt but

to suicide, but there was added an influence from above. But the character of that baleful influence does not even remotely suggest the personality of Athena, and is essentially the same as that which vexed the mind of Antigone and drove her to her doom. For that Sophokles found in Antigone's frenzied despair an indication of the supernatural, of the heaven-sent ἄτη that had dwelt so long with the Labdacids and made the history of that house a record of violent deeds,—that I have tried to show elsewhere. ("The Subject of Sophokles' Antigone," Philadelphia, 1901.)

* "Elements," II., 142, 153.

that also in Sophokles an attitude of "caution towards the gods"† was a powerful factor in prompting him to do his duty by the gods. At the same time we are safe in ascribing his zeal in matters pertaining to worship primarily to a genuine religious emotion which, thus expressed, is more or less mystical in its tendencies. The most conclusive evidence of this mental tendency is furnished by the *O. K.* Throughout the play the immediate presence of the divine is felt, and that in the person of Oidipus. The deity does not appear in bodily form, the human eye beholds nothing. But Oidipus *inwardly* feels the divine promptings and perceives the voice of god. By inspiration he holds the knowledge of such things as are mysteries, which speech may not profane (1526). This spirit of mysticism has found powerful expression especially in the last scene. Oidipus, the blind one, formerly dependent on the guidance of others, now leads the way; the summons which had come from the god† urges him on; no one is to touch him and slowly he disappears from view: god in Oidipus.‡

Edward Caird has admirably characterized mysticism as "the great means whereby a religious principle supplements the defects of its own imperfect development and anticipates the results of a more advanced stage than it has yet attained."§ Such characterization exactly fits this phase of Sophokles' religion; in his moments of religious exaltation pure intuition may have allowed him to catch a glimpse of the Eternal, glorious beyond the ordinary conceptions of his time. Nevertheless, his religion, lacking the solid foundation of reason, is only a feeble attempt to reconcile what could not be reconciled; a compromise of so confused a nature that it could satisfy none but the simple-minded, an irrational "combination of the inwardness of subjective feeling and the objectivity of tradition."||

* *ἡ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐλάβεια*; the expression occurs [Dem.] 59, 74.

† *τούκ θεοῦ παρόν* (1540).

‡ For Bacchic ecstasies and mysticism cp. *Trach,* 216 ff.

§ *The Evolution of Religion,* II., p. 290.

|| O. Pfleiderer, The Philosophy of Religion (E. T.), IV, p. 288.

We have allowed in Sophokles a wide scope to his sense of wonder. Only little reflection is needed to reveal the fact, generally overlooked, how truly immense and manifold the material was which stimulated this sense of wonder. And here reference is not made to the irrational elements in myths and legends but primarily to every-day religious practice and to ideas still widely current in those days, survivals of an earlier stage in religious development.

There is, to begin with, the "taboo" idea, a sentiment springing, as it seems, from man's instinctive need to distinguish between actions permissible and such as must not be done under any circumstances, a feeling that sets apart certain things and surrounds them with an imaginary wall of sacredness. Closely connected with it is the primitive idea of ceremonial purity and impurity. In this way the ethical consciousness found utterance but sanctioned its mandates on religious, *i. e.*, supernatural grounds. The twofold meaning of "agos,"—not due to its being derived from two different roots, as was once erroneously supposed,—is sufficient evidence that this primitive sentiment once held powerful sway over the Greek mind. The tabooed thing is a thing set apart, either as an object of religious veneration or of religious horror. Oidipus, guilty of parricide and incest, is a tabooed person; he may be morally innocent; it does not alter the fact that his person is a menace to the community in which he dwells. The transmissibility of taboo is a principle firmly believed in. Whatever comes in contact with the tabooed person is in turn infected; even sight polluted.* Thus the primi-

* This explains the horror of the chorus in the *O. K.* (220 ff.), when they know whom they are looking upon; and at the close of the play they pray that, having *seen* Oidipus, they may not have to suffer for it: *μηδ' ἄλαστον ἀνδρ' ἰδὼν ἀκερδῆ χάριν μετάσχοιμί πως* (1483). Oidipus himself speaks of his *κάρα δυσπρόσοπτον* (285). The same adjective is applied to the dream of Klytaimestra: *δυσπρόσοπτ' ὀνείρατα* (*El.* 460), in which connection we remember Aisch. *Pers* 201 f., where Atossa, after her dream purifies herself: *χεροῖν καλλιρρόου ἐψαυσα πηγῆς.* To avoid pollution, Laios' attendant leaves Thebes after the slayer of his master had occupied the

tive mind could not think of moral guilt except as a physical stain. But the age of Perikles, though, indeed, it produced a Nikias, was beginning to outgrow such notions, which at this time deserve the name of superstitions only. How great a hold, however, they still had on Sophokles' mind is tolerably clear from his Oidipus dramas. There can be no doubt but that the person of Oidipus inspired him with the same kind of unreasoning horror which it produced in his chorus. The poet is fully aware that Oidipus is morally innocent; and he would be unable to define the exact nature of the "miasma," or stain, in Oidipus' person. Nevertheless, because he is fully unprepared to think out the problem, he accepts the actual and effective existence of that "stain" even as he accepts the miracle that converted Oidipus from an evil-bringing power to a beneficial power; all this transcends human reason: that is why it is divine.

Another relic of earlier times is the sentiment, also prevalent among nearly all primitive peoples, which enjoins silence regarding certain matters and forbids the use of certain words. There is a reverential silence to be observed regarding things divine; "the identity or at least the close connection between a thing and its name not only makes the utterance of a holy name an invocation which ensures the actual presence of the deity invoked, it also makes the holy name too sacred for common use or even for use at all."* Twice in Sophokles' extant plays Teiresias hesitates to divulge what the deity has made known to him, not only because he fears to offend his master, but the sacredness of his knowledge would

throne: *ὡς πλεῖστον εἴη τοῦδ' ἄποπτος ἀστεως* (*O. T.* 762). And Elektra, leaving Aigisthos to be buried by dogs and birds, yet takes care that his body shall be out of her and Orestes' sight: *ἄποπτον ἡμῶν* (*El.* 1489). Instructive are Kreon's words to the attendants who have suffered Oidipus to go forth from the palace: "if they have lost all reverence for man, at least let them revere the light of the sun: *τοιόνδ' ἁγος ἀκάλυπτον δεικνύναι.* Cp. also *O. K.* 755 ff. and Oidipus' entreaty to hide him somewhere: *καλύψατ' ἢ φονεύσατ', ἢ θαλάσσιον ἐκρίψατ', ἔνθα μήποτ' εἰσόψεσθ' ἔτι* (*O. T.* 1411).

* F. B. Jevons, "Introduction to the History of Religion," p. 361.

be disturbed by and does not bear to be set forth in simple and direct language.* Similarly Oidipus can divulge only in vague terms what benefits he will bestow on Athens†, to Theseus alone he will confide "such mysteries which speech may not profane."‡ Again, Tekmessa only reluctantly relates what took place on that fateful morning of Aias' madness. How can she speak of which it not lawful to speak?§ For she has witnessed the work of some supernatural power, and, true to Greek sentiment, she fears lest a detailed account of all that happened might bring back the baleful influence of that dread power. A sharp distinction is made between things "rheta" and "arrheta,"—things of which it is lawful and of which it is unlawful to speak. Oidipus acknowledges that Teiresias cannot reveal all the god has given him knowledge of.‖ Thus the messenger from Korinth asks whether it is lawful for him to know what the oracle said.¶

No one can fail to observe in what manner notions and sentiments like these were bound to affect people of Sophokles' stamp. The feeling that made man shrink from speaking of things holy and divine, or at least speak of these matters with bated breath; the firm belief that, when in the mysteries the deities were called upon by secret names, the mere utterance of such names by the votaries put them at once on a footing of intimacy with the god**; the ideas associated with such terms as *εὐφημεῖν* and *δυσφημεῖν*,—all this must have tended to invest all things pertaining to the divine with a mysterious halo of its own. And innumerable are the things man dare

* Teiresias says: *ὄρσεις με τἀκίνητα διὰ φρενῶν φράσαι* (*Ant.* 1060).

† *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐδᾶν ἡδὺ τἀκίνητ' ἔπη* (*O. K.* 624).

‡ *ἃ δ' ἐξαγιστὰ μηδὲ κινεῖται λόγῳ* (1526).

§ *πῶς δῆτα λέγω λόγον ἄρρητον*; (*Ai.* 214), not simply "a tale too dire for words" (Jebb).

‖ Oidipus addresses the seer:

> *ὦ παντα νωῶν Τειρεσία, διδακτά τε*
> *ἀρρητά τ', οὐράνιά τε καὶ χθονοστιβῆ.* (*O. T.* 300)

¶ *O. T.* 993 *ἢ ῥητὸν ἢ οὐχὶ θεμιτὸν ἄλλον εἰδέναι*; cp. also 464 f., 1289. *O. K.* 978 ff., 1000 ff.

** Gardner and Jevons, "Greek Antiquities," p. 224.

not know. For not only is the initiated forbidden to divulge his knowledge to the profane; not only does the god entrust his prophet with such knowledge as cannot be cummunicated to the masses; but often the gods themselves hide the truth from man, and in that case all human effort to pierce the darkness is vain and sinful.*

Sophokles has no sympathy with those who carry their scrutinies into these forbidden domains†; their reckless conduct fills him with alarm.

Again, the Greek ritual, as practiced in Sophokles' day was a survival of a bygone age. The original meaning of most of these rites, often of elaborate character, had long been forgotten, yet they were carried out with strict observance of minute detail. The importance primitive man attached to this ritual, his fear that the omission of the slightest detail might render the whole ceremony fruitless or worse,—is a fact with which students of religion are familiar. In Sophokles' age the circumstance that in the large majority of cases time had obscured the original meaning of these rites, may have resulted in degrading them with many to a mere formalism devoid of all meaning. But this very circumstance, *viz.*, that origin and meaning of the ritual was no longer understood, tended only to increase its value for those filled with reverential wonder at the divine. In the performance of these rites they found the opportunity, instinctively sought for, of converting into act the ardor of their feelings.

The best illustration, apart from the *Antigone,* of Sophokles' attitude towards this ritual is furnished by the careful directions of the chorus in the *O. K.,* 466 ff., as to the means whereby Oidipus may appease the wrath of the dread goddesses on whose precinct he trespassed. In these particular rites, as in all others, the irrational element prevailed. Why was it dangerous to pour out wine to the Erinyes? Why

* *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ θεῖα κρυπτόντων θεῶν, μάθοις ἄν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντ' ἐπεξέλθοις σκοπῶν* (*fr.* 834) and cp. *O. T.* 280 f.

† *μισῶ μὲν ὅστις τἀφανῆ περισκοπεῖ* (*fr.* 667). *μὴ πάντ' ἐρεύνα· πόλλα καὶ λαθεῖν καλόν* (*fr.* 81); and cp. *O. K.* 1640 ff.

should Oidipus take care to draw the water for his drink-offering from an ever-flowing spring? Why should he in the act of worship turn to the East? Why should he speak in cautious whispers? What mysterious danger was there in turning around after the performance of rites and prayers?

These are all "the unwritten and unfailing statutes of heaven; their life is not of to-day or yesterday, and no man knows when they were first put forth." All attempt to account for them on rational basis may prove futile; for that very reason they were of priceless value to those whose emotional temperament demanded expression of some kind.

To resume: we have seen there was much in Greek cult and religious sentiment apt to stimulate the sense of mystery, much that seemed to forbid man to reason with god. It was that element in Greek religion, that, belonging to an older stratum of belief, had been at the time of its origin reasonable enough to the primitive mind, but which now had become wholly unintelligible, or partly so. A bold thinker may partially succeed in freeing his mind from traditional bias. It was otherwise with him, who, at the mercy of his emotions, was naturally predisposed to wonder and awe.

But such an attitude towards the divine implies a fear of God, which is not the wholesome fear of the guilty conscience but an unreasoning dread at the Supernatural. In Sophokles it became the insuperable obstacle to his attaining to a nobler conception of God. For where his moral earnestness and his reverence for the Deity would and did cause him to look up to God as a Being, greater and better than himself, morally his superior, there, at another time, did his awe at the mystery, which seemed to enshroud the divine, forbid him to pry into what he conceives to be the secret motives of his god, to give utterance to doubts he may have felt and to reject what his reason would have told him to reject. If his gods are *not* unjust, *not* cruel, *not* malicious, it is only because he does not venture to measure their acts by the standards of human morality. He anxiously refrains from any utterance that

might even imply a lack of respect for the divine. When Elektra, in utter despair at the reported death of Orestes, is on the point of assailing the gods, the chorus hastily interpose their: "utter no rash cry!"* For the gods are swift in punishing any utterance at which they may take offence. For a little boastful word Artemis exacts from Agamemnon the sacrifice of his daughter. Athena does not strike Aias with madness because of his evil designs against his countrymen, but in punishment of a few proud words, such as might have escaped the lips of any man, conscious of his strength. And when the cruel goddess lectures Odysseus and boastingly shows what the mighty Aias has become in her hands, the pious Odysseus does not ask himself: is this spitefulness, this cruelty worthy of a goddess? Nor can he exult in the downfall of his enemy. He is full of compassion and fear: "I think of mine own lot no less than his. For I see that we are but phantoms, all we who live, or fleeting shadows."† Expressions of this character occur with almost wearisome frequency in Sophokles' works. *τὰ θνητὰ φρονεῖν*, "to have mortal thoughts," that is the key-note of his attitude towards his god.

But this sense of human limitations was rapidly disappearing among his contemporaries. An awakening rationalism began to attack what it regarded as the superstitions of a bygone age. It was a period of enlightenment, in which the spirit of free inquiry began to assert itself. Impatient of authority, it demanded a rational basis for all that formerly had been taken for granted. And worse than all to the pious Athenian: some representatives of the new wisdom did not stop at theorizing but on various occasions aggressively and with great display of profanity attacked the *form* of religion. This was a phase of the new enlightenment that was particularly offensive to the pietism of the Athenians.

* *El.* 830: *μηδὲν μέγ' αὔσῃς.*

† *Ai.* 124: *οὐδὲν τὸ τούτου μᾶλλον ἢ τοὐμὸν σκοπῶν.*
ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλήν
εἴδωλ' ὅσοιπερ ζῶμεν ἢ κούφην σκίαν.

How keenly Sophokles suffered under this condition of affairs we may still learn from that unique outburst found in the *O. T.*,—the most heart-felt and impassioned protest of genuine piety against the antagonistic tendencies of its time to be found in classical Greek literature. I mean the second stasimon of the *O. T.*

Sophokles begins by praying that in the midst of this ungodliness he may preserve his "purity" in words and deeds, regarding which there are laws of divine origin; never will these be lulled to sleep, for god lives in them (863–871). He prays in effect to his gods that they may not take away from him the awe with which he approaches all thing sacred; that he may not lose his reverence for the divine will, as announced in oracle and portent; that he may keep his mouth clean from any impious and blasphemous utterance; that they may leave him the joy of adoration when in the solemn act of worship. These "laws," then, are not to be identified with "the great moral laws." They are the prescription of conduct and speech regarding all matter holy and divine: the laws enjoining reverence for what traditionally had been regarded as sacred, and strict observance of the "νόμιμα," religious customs and usages. In short, they are the laws of reverence, but such laws, as must not act as a restraining power from without, but the obedience to which must proceed from the inwardly-felt needs of the heart; even as Antigone spontaneously performs the burial-rites and obeys the law of reverence because she cannot help obeying.

But this spirit of reverence is now sadly lacking in Athens. What generation after generation has held in sacred awe is now too often being ridiculed or contemptuously set aside. And these tendencies have just now culminated in a supreme act of wanton irreverence.* He warns his people: "insolence breeds the tyrant." For why should he who pays no homage to the divine, have any reverence for the rights of man? Such wanton irreverence cannot last; in the end it

* ὕβρις.

will meet its doom; it may glut itself with outrage after outrage: "when it hath scaled the topmost ramparts," it will be hurled down, held fast in the grip of a Greater Power, its limbs paralyzed. "But," the poet prays, "may there ever be in my city another group of men, ready to stand up for the rights of God." He will not cease looking up to the deity as his mainstay (872–881).

But he well knows that there are many who do not share this humble spirit of the devout. "Walking haughtily in word and deed," they prove their overweening self-reliance; in their ill-fated pride which does not fear the divine wrath, they have no veneration for the images of the gods; they lay their hands in what is holy, caring only for gain, regardless of "dike"; nothing can be too sacred not to be defiled by their touch. The poet declares in warning and most emphatic tones, that a community like theirs must be forever exposed to the divine wrath. It is true,—the semblance of religion is still there; nominally the gods are still worshipped with public rites. But with righteous indignation he denies that this mummery or the cautious formalism of the hypocrite is a fair substitute for religion. For can one think of a greater indignity offered to God, than that of feigning reverence and joining in worship, when the hands are defiled by acts of sacrilege and the mouth by words of blasphemy (882–896)?

Then he turns to his god and with truly Greek *naiveté* threatening the deity to forsake him and his shrines, he calls on him to mete out exemplary punishment to those guilty of such wanton irreverence. He prays to the supreme god,—so grand and powerful that even the name Zeus cannot encompass his glory,—to that "King," the "all-ruling one," to his "ever-deathless power", to give this signal manifestation of his wrath, and to humble man's overweening pride. And it is high time; for oracles are set at nought, the divine will is no longer heeded; nowhere Apollo meets with the honor due to him; all reverence for the divine is perishing* (897–910).

* ἔρρει δὲ τὰ θεῖα.

Such is the everlasting protest of reverence against irreverence; of the mystic against the rationalist who would "dispute out of him the God whose presence he feels in his heart." The fiction of the Theban elders is entirely abandoned. All attempts to narrow down this ode to a mere commentary on the preceding scenes of the drama, are doomed to failure. Yet it is the same spirit that pervades both; or, rather, the sentiment in which the drama was conceived culminates in that ode. The ode we have called the protest of reverence against irreverence: the drama itself is but a powerful illustration of utter helplessness of man against god. The story of Oidipus, as told and interpreted by Sophokles would teach the spectator the lesson of humility.

Let us outline the tale of Oidipus in that unsophisticated form in which it probably appealed to our poet; and let us, for the time being, banish all thought of theodicy or moral order of the world or fatalism.

"Once upon a time there was a King of Thebes whose name was Laios. He dwelt in happiness and peace; when on a certain day god spoke to him and said: *Thou shalt have a son; and when he has grown to manhood, he will slay his father and marry his mother.* Laios was much concerned, lest the word of god should prevail; for he was a pious and god-fearing man. And when a child was born to him, he gave it to his herdsman, that he might expose it to the perils of the mountain-wilds and there let it perish.

"But the herdsman took pity on the child and gave it to another, who was pasturing the flocks of his master, the king of a neighboring country. This king took the child and reared it as his own since he was without offspring. And he named him Oidipus.

"But when the boy had grown to manhood, god spoke to him and said: *Thou shalt slay thy father and marry thy mother and have such offspring as man cannot endure to behold.* And Oidipus was much concerned lest the word of

god should prevail; for he was pious and god-fearing. And fleeing from his country, he set out to find a new home.

"And it came to pass that on his way he met another traveller, with whom he fell to quarrelling; and Oidipus slew him and his attendants.

"Not long hereafter he chanced to come to a city which was in dire distress. Its king had been killed and nearby, on a hill, there sat a terrible monster, with the face of a maiden and the body of winged lion. It chanted a riddle and certain death awaited all who failed to solve it.

"Wherefore the people, in sore need, proclaimed that he who should find the answer, should have a great reward in that he should be made their king and marry their queen.

"And, behold, Oidipus, the homeless wanderer, solved the riddle, whereupon the people made him their king and gave him their queen to wife.

"And Oidipus, thinking himself the child of good fortune, was grateful to the gods.

"The name of the city was Thebes. Many years he ruled in happiness and peace; for he was a just king and his wisdom was great. And four children be begot by his wife.

"But, at last, a great evil fell upon his people. There was a blight upon the fruits of the earth and on the increase of man and beast; and a terrible pestilence ravaged the town. The people in great despair turned to their king to rescue the state. But even his wisdom could find no means to relieve their suffering. But the god said *there was a defiling thing in Thebes which must be driven out.*

"And it was found that Oidipus himself, the wise and god-fearing ruler of his people, had caused their suffering and had polluted Thebes.

"For, behold, the word of god had come to pass."

Such I conceive to have been essentially the character and the form of that chapter of sacred history as it was present to Sophokles' mind. A tale of powerful simplicity, it made a direct appeal to his heart, and as such, purely as such, he set

himself to dramatize it with all the resources of his genius,—including "tragic irony." The language in which he addresses his audience and by which he may have hoped to awaken them from their intellectual pride, is the language of reverence and wonder. He felt in the story of Oidipus the presence of that ineffable something, at which man can only marvel and bow his head in silent submission. And this he wished to bring home to his audience,—awakening in them the sense of mystery, which is not, indeed, religion itself, but the handmaid of religion; humbling their pride; shaking their confidence in that reason which was of so little avail to Odipus. The Oidipus myth was preëminently adapted to Sophokles' purpose: nowhere is the mystery of human suffering more appalling,—the story of a man whom the gods exalted to the highest pinnacle of human glory only to hurl him back to the deepest depth of human misery; a fit vehicle for the lesson the poet wished to impart: the lesson of humility.

In no other of the extant plays is the poet's religous ardor so glowingly reflected as in the *O. T.* Here at last we see the genial Sophokles becoming conscious of a divine message he has to deliver, and rising almost to the dignity of religious prophetism. But it is idle to guess what event it was that had stirred him so profoundly as to rouse him to bitter denunciation of existing evils.

The drama, however, is nothing but an appeal to the religious and æsthetic emotions, and while Sophokles rises here to his greatest height, the same play exhibits more glaringly than any other the fatal defect of his religion. We have observed that modern interpreters have evolved more than one doctrine, including fatalism, from this play; and who shall deny that similar errors were committed by his contemporaries, in that age of subtle and acute arguing? It is all due to the fact that Sophokles gives absolutely no answer to the question that these interpreters have asked; his one-sided treatment of the story utterly fails to satisfy the demands of the intellect. Such treatment, again, is characteristic of the man himself;

he felt it deeply, but has not thought it out. His whole religious system,—if system it can be called,—is hopelessly superficial. And this accords well with the little we know of his personality: a man of sound physical constitution, of cheerful temperament, and of epicurean proclivities, a genial companion, easy-going and anxiously guarding the happy medium between the two extremes of the too-much and the too-little,—such is not the stuff religious prophets are made from. The moral grandeur of an Antigone and an Elektra to his mind is inseparable from harshness and intolerance; such bold assertion of right hardly fitted in with his ideas of human limitations.

But Sophokles' sermons on *sophrosyne* offered little consolation to those who stood in real need of such. He has no answer for those who vehemently cried for Light,—and such there lived also at his time. In stead of stimulating the thoughts of the spectator, Sophokles is content to mystify him; the atmosphere of the Sophoklean drama is altogether too oppressive for him who wants to breathe freely.

But that he never seriously and determinedly grappled with the great problems of life, is no doubt partly due to the kindness of fate, which vouchsafed him a long and happy life, rarely marred by any untoward event. All the more astounding is the error of those who find in him an approach to that higher and teleological view of suffering which is the choicest fruit of Christianity.

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IV.

MACCABEAN PSALMS.

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According to ancient Jewish and Christian tradition, the Psalter consists of psalms written by David. Modern critics, however, do not generally agree with this view. Critics, like Reuss, Kuenen and von Lengerke, assert that there is not a single Davidic psalm in the entire Psalter. Ewald admits seventeen psalms as Davidic, Hitzig fourteen, Delitzsch forty-four, Schultz ten, and Baethgen three (3, 4, 18), with some hesitation. Driver in his *Introduction* (8th ed., New York, 1898), p. 380, says: "On the whole, a *non liquet* must be our verdict: it is possible that Ewald's list of Davidic Psalms is too large, but it is not clear that none of the Psalms contained in it are of David's composition." W. Robertson Smith in *OTJC*[2] (1895), p. 223, thinks that "there is no Psalm which we can assign to him [David] with absolute certainty and use to throw light on his character or any special event in his life." Cheyne, in the article on "David," *EB,* 1035, concurs in this view. According to Professor Paul Haupt, there are no Psalms of David.*

After a lengthy discussion of the question of non-Davidic or Davidic psalms in the Psalter, commentators began to consider the question of pre-Exilic or post-Exilic psalms. Driver in his *Introduction,* pp. 384 ff., thinks that the royal psalms (2, 18, 20, 21, 28, 45, 61, 63, 72) and a few others, notably 46, 76, 89–91, 101 and 110, may be pre-Exilic, but that very few of the Psalms are earlier than the seventh century B. C. Rev. J. P. Peters, D.D., believes that perhaps the greater part

* Cf. his paper "David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan," in *JHUC,* Vol. XXII., No. 163 (June, 1903), pp. 53–57.

of Book I. of the Psalter is pre-Exilic.* Kirkpatrick in his commentary on the Psalms (Cambridge Bible Series, 1893–1895) considers the royal psalms and also 46, 48, 75 and 76 pre-Exilic. Kautzsch thinks that "our present Psalter contains a fair number of pre-Exilic songs or fragments of songs."† Baethgen makes about thirty or forty psalms pre-Exilic and refers them to the period of the Israelitish kingdom. All the rest he considers either Exilic or post-Exilic.‡

Duhm and Cheyne have entirely rejected the critical hypothesis of pre-Exilic psalms. According to Duhm, who refers most of the psalms to the Maccabean or post-Maccabean period, the oldest is 137, which he considers an adaptation of a popular song, written during the Exile. Wellhausen's dictum:§ "The question is not whether the Psalter contains post-Exilic, but whether it contains any pre-Exilic Psalms," has in turn been superseded by the problem of the present day, whether the Psalter contains any pre-Maccabean psalms. Professor Haupt believes that there are undoubtedly three Maccabean psalms, but has not discovered any pre-Exilic psalms.‖

J. B. Peters, Francis Brown and H. Zimmern¶ have shown that there is often a remarkable identity of technical phraseology and religious ideas as well as of metrical form between the Babylonian and the Hebrew penitential psalms. The

* Cf. his article on "The Development of the Psalter," *New World*, Vol. II., 6 (June, 1893), p. 303 f.

† Cf. E. Kautzsch, "An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament" (Translated by John Taylor), London, 1898, p. 143.

‡ Cf. F. Baethgen, "Die Psalmen" (2d ed., Goettingen, 1897), p. xxiii.

§ Cf. F. Bleek's, "Einleitung in das Alte Testament" (4th ed., by J. Wellhausen, Berlin, 1878), p. 507, and J. Wellhausen, *SBOT* Psalms (English), p. 163, ll. 10–14.

‖ Cf. his article cited above, p. 1, n. *.

¶ Cf. Peters' article cited above p. 1, n. †; F. Brown, "The Religious Poetry of Babylonia," *Presbyterian Review*, Vol. IX., No. 33 (Jan., 1888), pp. 69–86; and H. Zimmern in *KAT*[3] (1903), pp. 607–612, also Hehn, "Suende und Erloesung nach bibl. und babyl. Anschauung" (1903); Caspari, "Die Religion der assyr.-babl. Busspsalmen" (Guetersloh, 1903); A. Jeremias, "Monotheistische Stroemungen innerhalb der babyl. Religion" (Leipzig, 1904).

terms for "sin" (Assyr. *ḥiṭṭu* and *ḥiṭîtu,* Heb. *ḥaṭṭā'th* and *ḥ^a^ṭā'āh*) and "grace" (Assyr. *annu,* Heb. *ḥēn*) and other ideas either correspond closely or are identical. In the Babylonian psalms we have the same parallelism of members, which is so characteristic of Hebrew poetry. It is not at all improbable that, during the Exile in Babylonia, the Jews became familiar with the penitential psalms of their conquerors, and that these may have served as models for the hymns in the Hebrew Psalter, just as Professor Haupt has shown, that the Levitic ritual was influenced by Babylonian institutions.*

Quite recently, however, critics have assigned most of the Psalms to the Maccabean period. Olshausen did this over fifty years ago in his commentary on the Psalms (Leipzig, 1853). The great Syrian theologian and Biblical scholar, Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia, more than 1,500 years ago, called attention to the existence of Maccabean psalms, but it was done in a rather guarded manner. He made David the author of all the Psalms, but said that David, in the spirit of prophecy, had predicted the future destinies of his people. Seventeen psalms (44, 47, 55–60, 62, 69, 74, 79, 80, 83, 108, 109, and 144) were assigned by him to the Maccabean period. He could not regard the superscriptions of the Psalms, either in the Hebrew or the LXX, as original and authoritative, a view that is now generally recognized.† Theodoret and Chrysostom referred a few psalms to this period. During the Reformation period, Esrom Rudinger, the former colleague of Melanchthon, assigned twenty-five psalms definitely to the Maccabean period, leaving it an open question with two, *viz.,* 26 and 28.‡ Venema in his commentary on the Psalms

* Cf. his paper on "Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual," *JBL,* XIX. (1900), pp. 55–81.

† Cf. T. K. Cheyne, "Early Criticism of the Psalter in Connection with Theodore of Mopsuestia," *Thinker* (June, 1893), pp. 496–498, and F. Baethgen, "Siebzehn makkabaeische Psalmen nach Theodor von Mopsuestia," *ZAT,* 1886, pp. 261–288; 1887, pp. 1–60.

‡ Cf. C. Ehrt, "Abfassungszeit u. Abschluss des Psalters zur Pruefung der Frage nach Makkabaeerpsalmen" (Leipzig, 1869), p. 3 f.

(Loevardiae, 1762–1767) considered thirty-four psalms Maccabean. Vitringa made five (74, 75, 79, 80, 89) Maccabean, Berthold (1812) eight (44, 69, 74, 79, 115, 118, 119, 149), Paulus (1815) five (66, 74, 79, 115, 123), and Hesse (1837) seven (44, 60, 74, 79, 83, 94, 118). Hitzig assigned all of the Psalms from 73 onward, except 82, 84, 85, and 87, to the Maccabean period, 1, 2, and 60 to Alexander Jannaeus, and 42–44 and 65 to Onias III.:*

Reuss, in the second edition of his "Geschichte der Heiligen Schrift des Alten Testaments" (Braunschweig, 1890), p. 630, mentions forty-one psalms as Maccabean. Graetz in his commentary (1882–1883) makes twelve Maccabean, three post-Maccabean (134–136) and five pre-Maccabean but Greek (1, 119, 140, 141, 145). Cheyne, in his "Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter" (1891), p. 455 f., regards twenty-six psalms as Maccabean and sixteen as pre-Maccabean Greek psalms, among them Ps. 72. W. Robertson Smith considered Ps. 33 a possible addition by the final collector and assigned the collection of Psalms 90–150, as well as the completion of the Psalter, to the early Maccabean period.† Driver in his "Introduction," p. 387 f., says: "It is true, our knowledge of the circumstances under which either the Psalter was compiled, or the Canon of the OT was completed does not entitle us to deny peremptorily the presence of Maccabean psalms in the collection; and if it be the fact that Pss. 44, 74, 79 were introduced into the Psalter in (or after) this period, it is difficult to argue that other psalms may not have been introduced into it likewise. But there is no sufficient reason for supposing this to have been the case on the scale supposed by Olshausen and Reuss. Had so many Psalms dated from this age, it is difficult not to think that they would have borne more prominent marks of it in their diction and style." Kautzsch thinks that Psalms 44, 74, and 83 are very probably isolated Maccabean psalms in the second collection (42–89)

* Cf. F. Hitzig, "Die Psalmen," Leipzig, 1863.

† Cf. *OTJC* (1895)², pp. 212 and 438.

and that there are also a large number of Maccabean psalms in the third collection (90–150).* Kessler† is of the opinion that neither the majority nor even a considerable number of Psalms are a product of the Maccabean period, but admits that a few psalms may have been appended to the Psalter during this period, as *e. g.,* Ps. 149. Professor Toy in *JBL* (June, 1887), pp. 47–60, assigns Psalms, 2, 18, 21, 44, 45, and 79 to the Hasmonean or Maccabean period. Baethgen ascribes Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 83 with certainty to the Maccabean period. For Psalms 2, 110, 69, 149, he considers this time the most probable, and for Psalms 75, 102, 108 and 144 at any rate possible.‡ Professor Haupt assigns the majority of the psalms to the Maccabean period (about 170–70 B. C.), among them Pss. 1, 2, 16, 23, 45, 83, and 118. §

While Koenig in his "Einleitung," p. 403, can only see his way clear to recognize one Maccabean psalm, *viz.,* 74, a great many critics regard at least Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 83 as Maccabean. So notably Baethgen, Kautzsch, Cornill "Einleitung," (pp. 219, 314) and Schuerer. ‖ C. H. H. Wright in his "Introduction" (London, 1891), p. 157, thinks these four psalms may be Maccabean, but is doubtful. Harlan Creelman in an article "Are There Maccabean Psalms?" in the "Old and New Testament Student (Biblical World)," Vol. 15 (1892), pp. 94–104 and 192–201, advances the view that Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 83 were written at an earlier period (74 and 79 perhaps at the time of the Chaldean invasion) and afterwards in the Maccabean struggle "worked over and given a fresh setting with new expressions and references in harmony with the condition of affairs at this later period."¶

* Cf. p. 146 of work cited above on p. 1, n. ‡.

† Cf. H. Kessler, "Die Psalmen" (2d ed., Muenchen, 1899), p. xvii.

‡ Cf. F. Baethgen, "Die Psalmen" (2d ed., Goettingen, 1897), p. xxix.

§ Cf. *AJSL,* XIX., 3, pp. 130 and 135, n. 11; *JHUC,* Vol. XXII., No. 163 (June, 1903), p. 90; *AJSL,* XX., p. 170, n. 55 and n. 60; and *ZDMG,* 85, p. 629, n. 22.

‖ Cf. E. Schuerer, "Geschichte des Juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi" (3d ed., Leipzig, 1902), Vol. III., pp. 148–149.

¶ For a similar view as to the origin of Pss. 74, 79 and 83, cf. J. P. Peters, *New World,* Vol. II., 6 (June, 1893), p. 304 n.

Rudinger (1580), Venema (1762), Bengel, von Lengerke, de Jong, Steiner, Perowne, Muehlmann, and Franz Delitzsch regarded Pss. 44, 74, and 79 as Maccabean, van der Palm and Kuenen 44, 79, and 83. Giesebrecht* and Driver consider 74, 79, and 83 Maccabean. Noeldeke in his "Alttestamentliche Litteratur" (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 132–133, assigns 44, 74, and 83 to this period. Calvin and the translators of the Geneva Bible regarded 44 and 74 as Maccabean, while Vitringa and J. H. Michaelis referred 74 and 79, Rosenmueller 44 and 79, and C. L. W. Grimm 79 and 83 to the same period. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Nicolaus de Lyra, Dathe, van Hengel, and de Wette made Ps. 44 Maccabean, Theodoret and Eusebius Ps. 79, and Diodorus of Antioch (c. 380 A. D.) and Solomon van Til (1690) Ps. 83. Dillmann considers this psalm, together with 60 and 80 post-Exilic, but admits that a Maccabean date for them is very plausible.

Rosenmueller and de Wette† were at first inclined to favor the existence of Maccabean psalms, but retracted their views in later editions of their works.

The existence of Maccabean psalms has been strongly denied and contested by Gesenius ("Allgemeine Halle'schen Litteraturzeitung," No. 81, p. 643 ff.), Hassler, Haevernick, Ewald,‡ Boettcher, Thenius, de Wette, Keil, Hengstenberg, Dillmann, Hupfeld, Bleek, and Ehrt ("Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters," Leipzig, 1869).

The admitted presence of Maccabean psalms in the Psalter argues a late date for its final redaction and publication. W. Robertson Smith in his *OTJC* § (1895), p. 212, assigned the completion of the Psalter to "the early years of Maccabee sovereignty." Henry Preserved Smith, in his "Old Testament

* Cf. F. Giesebrecht, *ZAT*, 1881, p. 304.

† Cf. Rosenmueller's "Scholien" (1821) and de Wette's "Commentar ueber die Psalmen" (5th ed. by Gustav Baur, Heidelberg, 1856), p. 10.

‡ Cf. H. Ewald, "Ueber das suchen und finden sogenannter Makkabaeischer Psalmen," *Jahrbeucher der biblischen Wissenschaften*, Goettingen, 1853–1854, pp. 20–32.

§ Cf. B. Duhm, "Die Psalmen" (Freiburg i. B., 1899), p. xii.

History" (New York, 1903), p. 471, ascribes the final redaction and publication of the Book of Psalms to the reign of Simon (142 B. C.). Ryle in his "Canon of the Old Testament," p. 127, says: "The time of its final promulgation in its present form and of its first recognition as part of the people's Scriptures, may well have been that of the great religious revival that accompanied the success of the Maccabean revolt, and the downfall of the Hellenizing party among the priests and nobles." Duhm thinks the Psalter was probably completed about 70 B. C. under Queen Alexandra, or Salome. Professor Haupt in his article on "The Prototype of the Magnificat," ZDMG 85 (1904), p. 629, n. 22, also places the date of the final redaction of the Psalter in the reign of Queen Salma Alexandria (76–67 B. C.) and considers Ps. 2 a poem celebrating the coronation of Aristobulus, her first husband, as King of the Jews (104 B. C.), which was prefixed to the Psalter out of deference to the Queen. The first psalm he makes a subsequent Pharisean addition, probably prefixed to Ps. 2, which was originally the first psalm according to Acts 13, 33, after 100 A. D., though it may have been written 153 B. C.

SENDAI, JAPAN.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

OTJC[2]. W. Robertson Smith's The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. 2d ed., London, 1895.

EB. Encyclopædia Biblica (quoted by the column).

JHUC. Johns Hopkins University Circulars.

SBOT. Sacred Books of the Old Testament (Polychrome Bible), edited by Professor Paul Haupt.

KAT[3]. Zimmern and Winckler's Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 3d ed., Berlin, 1903.

JBL. Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

ZAT. Zeitschrift der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft.

AJSL. American Journal of Semitic Languages.

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft.

V.

FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON AS A SPIRITUAL GENIUS.

THE REV. HENRY H. RANCK.

The study of history always centers in the great men who embody in themselves the thought and movement of their time. This is especially true of religious teachers and leaders who *are* what they say and do. Frederick W. Robertson, an independent thinker with remarkable insight into things human and divine, may justly be looked upon as a spiritual genius—a truly great man. "Great men exist," says Emerson, "that there may be greater men." Without doubt Robertson has helped the attainment of that end. Harnack reminds us, "the value of a truly great man consists in his increasing the value of all mankind." This may be said of Robertson, because it applies preëminently to our Lord Jesus Christ whom Robertson followed with passionate devotion and interpreted with marvelous clearness. He lived only to the age of thirty-seven, and his permanent work was done during the last seven years of his life, yet he has left us a body of sermons and addresses, unequalled in their helpfulness to understanding the life of Jesus and in unraveling the subtleties of the human heart. He drew men in crowds to his church, especially such as were of a sceptical turn, and showed to them the sunny reasonableness of the gospel. Many a man was saved through him from Unitarianism and infidelity. His influence was great even in life, but far greater after his death through his published sermons. He was a prophet in his own generation and for that reason is a living voice for all time.

He was born in London, February 3, 1816, studied at Tours, France, at the Edinburg Academy and then in Brazenose College, Oxford, where his preparation for the ministry was

completed. He was ordained in 1840, served as curate for a year in Winchester, and for five years at Cheltenham. He became the incumbent of St. Ebbes, Oxford in 1847, remaining but a few months, after which he went to Trinity Church, Brighton where he died August 15th, 1853.

To appreciate the life and work of Robertson, we need to bear in mind the political and religious condition of England in his day. The Reform Bill was passed in 1832. William IV. died in 1837 and with him passed the reign of personal government in England. Queen Victoria succeeded. Constitutional government really became a fact, and larger liberties and rights were given to the people, not, however, without the vigorous opposition of the privileged classes. The rationalism of Germany had penetrated English thought. Science was supposed to be taking away the foundations of belief. The established church was losing her prestige and her influence was felt to be on the wane. To counteract these tendencies, to instill new life into the church, and to secure again for her a commanding authority, the Oxford movement, better known as Tractarianism, was launched the year after the Reform Bill, by John Keble's assize sermon at the University on the existing perils of the Church.

"Liberalism" was the enemy these Oxford leaders, Newman, Froude and Pusey, with unquestioned sincerity and moral earnestness, proposed to meet and overthrow, resolved as they were to maintain inviolate the doctrines, the services and the discipline of the church, "and the primitive practice in religious offices." Tractarianism regarded the sacraments as the expressly authorized means of partaking of the life of Christ, made much of tradition, seeking authority in the undivided church prior to the schism between the East and West, insisted on Apostolical succession, taught baptismal regeneration; and thus was essentially a revival of mediaevalism, with but little sympathy for the Reformation movement and with increasing drift towards the Roman Church, as future decades more abundantly showed. In direct antagonism to the Trac-

tarian school was the low church party in the Anglican Church—the Evangelical school. They with equal vigor decried the sceptical liberalism in thought, and set the Bible over against tradition as the sole authority. They were active in many practical endeavors and in the performing of good works, but did little toward the theological reconstruction which the times so much demanded.

A movement of a very different character from Tractarianism, yet springing out of essentially the same prevailing conditions, especially touching the relation of church and state, was that in Scotland, issuing in the memorable secession from the Scotch establishment of 470 ministers on May 18, 1843, and the Constitution of the Presbyterian Free Church of Scotland under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers.

These were the stirring times in which Robertson was reared. In his youth as well as in his maturer years he took the deepest interest in the current political and religious questions and studied them diligently and thoroughly, so that he was able to make a substantial contribution to their solution. In his student days and earlier ministry, he was a devoted adherent and partisan of the Evangelical school. He practiced its most rigid precepts with vigor, sounded its depths in his own experience, weighed it in the balance and found it wanting, became disgusted with its shallowness, its cant and its sentimentality, and then with anguishing birth-throes came into the larger liberty of the gospel, in which he so powerfully wrought at Brighton. He was far removed from the Tractarians, yet he could not fail to feel their earnestness. He belonged to no party, yet he is generally classed with the Broad Churchmen, finding many points of contact with Richard Whately and Thomas Arnold and being in large sympathy with F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley. With them he lent a hand to much needed reconstruction, gave voice to the broader out-look and the larger hope, and did much to harmonize science and revelation.

Men of genius—poets, orators, artists—are said to be born,

not made. Others again define genius as a capacity for hard work—opposite statements, but not contradictory. The truth is found in the two taken together. This illustrates one of the principles of Robertson's teaching: "that truth is made up of two opposite propositions and not found in a *via media* between the two," a principle which he applies to his own life and particularly to the choice of his profession, in the terms of fate and freedom. "All is free," he says, "that is false," "All is fate, that is false," "All things are free and fated—that is true." When we come to look into Robertson's constitutional make-up, we see at once a mind and heart of rare endowments, a choice spirit which already in youth was prophetic of great things. He had the advantage moreover of most favorable surroundings in childhood and youth, used well his opportunities and brought into all his life and work the discipline of an iron will. When he was five years old, his father, Captain Robertson retired from the Army on half pay, in order to attend to the education of his children, of whom Frederick was the eldest. For four years he enjoyed the personal instruction and care of his father and mother who kept him from even the slightest touch of evil influences. The influence of his home and parental training followed him through life and he always recognized the debt he owed them. The books, which were wisely selected for him, and which he read with avidity, enriched his open and docile mind. In the seclusion of his home he cultivated the habit of meditation and thinking which were enlivened by a strong imagination. Yet he was neither morbid nor unnatural, but a buoyant boy, enjoying life, and delighting in the open air, sunshine, and vigorous exercise. His education, so wisely and auspiciously begun, was continued in the same tenor at the schools and throughout his life. Robertson had a sensitive, sympathetic, imaginative nature; with this was combined an exceptional dialectic power which would never rest until it had laid hold of the principle by which all things must be ordered in proper relations—an unusual combination in a man, because the one nearly always

flourishes to the neglect of the other. In addition to these qualities he had a strong will, with which he mastered the dangerously erratic elements of his nature, thus bringing the whole man into a poise of power.

"The root of all that was peculiar in Robertson's character," says his biographer, "lay in the intense sensitiveness which pervaded his whole nature." His senses, his passions, his imagination, his conscience, his spirit were so delicately wrought that they thrilled and vibrated to the slightest touch. A light day stirred his spirit, and he could work; a gloomy day hung over him like a pall. Beauty of scenery was a great delight. A landscape, a sunset, an alpine peak stirred his soul to ecstasy. The effect of art was similar. Hence his appreciation of poetry as the interpretation of nature which he unconsciously moralized, as its beauties registered their impression on his soul. He made no effort to retain these impressions of nature and art and "hook them to some useful end." They remained, and when he spoke or wrote, they came trooping unbidden to his service for illustration and illumination. His wide sympathy with man and the world was the key to his power. He seemed able to read every man's soul, put himself in his place, and feel for the time being what he felt. Thus he could be of help to men, because he understood them and their trials better than they themselves did.

He likewise craved sympathy, was easily jarred, and would sit silent for a whole evening if he felt himself suspected. On the other hand, he responded instantly to those who were akin to him, and would speak for hours most lucidly on difficult subjects, if he felt himself helpful and appreciated. He said his misfortune or happiness was power of sympathy—"I can feel with the Brahmin, the Pantheist, the Stoic, the Platonist, the Transcendentalist, perhaps the Epicureans, * * * the side of Utilitarianism which seems like truth, though I have more antipathy to that than anything else. I can suffer with the Tractarian; * * * I can agonize with the infidels, recoiling from the cowardice and false rest of superstition. Many

men can feel each of these separately and they are happy. They go on straight forward, like a one-eyed horse seeing all clear on one side; but I feel them all at once." This many-sidedness caused him to be much misunderstood, yet it was a source of power. He appreciated the true and good wherever he saw it, however much it was mixed with the ugly and the evil. His spirit, chaste in youth, was never stained in life. Without doubt this purity of heart was the secret to which he owed his keen insight into truth and his power of solving spiritual problems. His messages came like a revelation from heaven to those who heard them, and yet were simple and clear as day. "There are three things," he said, "which deserve no quarter in this world, hypocrisy, phariseeism, tyranny." His indignation at falsehood, injustice, impurity, was overpowering. His method of dealing with evils was positive and constructive, yet he could denounce crime, and then his words fell with the awfulness of a judicial sentence.

He was, however, like Christ, considerate of human weakness and most tolerant of the views of others. He associated with all men, and tried to do them good. He drew to himself all men,—the wealthy aristocrat and the poor laborer. He sympathized deeply with the classes who had little opportunity, organized the workingmen's institute in Brighton and delivered notable lectures to its members on poetry and social questions. His tastes were with the aristocrat, his sympathies with the mob. Because he would not be a partisan favoring the laboring men, many of them lost confidence in him, and denounced him. Nor did he please the privileged classes. He resolved difficulties, however, by teaching the higher and more comprehensive truth. He never joined a party. He believed high ends could be attained only by being the free servant of truth and following where she led. He did not rest comfortably with an isolated thought; it had to be coördinated with his system of truth. But all his thinking was directed to human ends. The true and beautiful were studied in their relation to living men; thus his ideas became real and practical. He

turned emotion and thought into conduct. He believed that a stirring of emotion which did not issue in action was injurious to character; therefore, he judged men by their character and life rather than by their creed.

His tolerance toward others did not free him from their abuse, however, because, belonging to no party, he was assailed by all, and was without that support of friends which partisanship gives. He stood alone—therefore he could give his matchless interpretation of "The Loneliness of Christ." All this took courage, which was a marked feature of his character. This was shown in the daring, even reckless exploits of his boyhood and in his predilection for a military career, for which throughout life he had a passionate liking. He said he would rather lead a forlorn hope than mount the pulpit stairs. The sight of drilling soldiers gave him a choking sensation from the thrilling emotion which he could not suppress. He was fearful lest he might prove a coward. A military career was his choice, not for laurels, but to do good. He did not want to enter the ministry of the church, and did so only after having waited long, and, as he thought, hopelessly for a commission in the army. It came a fortnight after his matriculation at Oxford. His chivalrous spirit had a romatic instinct of self-sacrifice which was with him in all that he did. His fitness for the ministry led many to suggest it to him in youth, but his reply was, "No never," and again, "I'm not fit for it." This humility, this sense of personal unworthiness, was characteristic. It came out in the undervaluing of his own work, his belief that he was accomplishing nothing. This appears especially in his letters written often in moods of depression. A kindred peculiarity was his morbid scrupulosity of conscience. He shrank as a youth with the purism of a boy from mispronunciations. The slightest deviation from truthfulness was abhorrent to him. His mother said of him, "I never knew him to tell a lie."

He was conscious of his over-sensitiveness, realized keenly the weaknesses of his character, and resolutely set himself to

correct them through brisk physical exercise, the soothing influences of poetry, and the study of science. He had his temptations and doubts. He strove to overcome and solve them by an extensive work of benevolence among the poor. He showed nevertheless, considering his sensitive nature, a marvelous common sense throughout. Lithe of figure, handsome, with a melodious voice, he was an attractive speaker. He preached with few notes with an elegance of language, a compactness of thought, with a power of analysis, penetration and yet clearness which are rarely found. He suffered excruciating nervous depression after preaching. He lived and wrought with consuming intensity. *What* he accomplished was enough for a long life and its quality was unique.

Robertson enumerates six principles which guided him in his teaching:

1. "The establishment of positive truth, instead of the negative destruction of error." This was the basis of his controversial teaching, especially in dealing with the Roman dogmas which so much troubled the minds of Christians in his day.

2. "That truth is made up of two opposite propositions"—noted above in the case of fate and freedom.

3. "That spiritual truth is discerned by the spirit, instead of intellectually in propositions." Thus his teaching was suggestive, not dogmatic, and therein he marks a transition to a period in which religion is treated less as a series of propositions, more as all-pervading life.

4. "The belief in the human character of Christ's humanity, must be antecedent to belief in his divine origin." During his life his opponents said he had no fixed system of teaching. The molding principle of his thinking was the divine human Christ, whose divinity was authenticated by his perfect humanity.

5. "That Christianity, as its teachers should, works from the inward to the outward and not vice versa." This principle is everywhere manifest in his teaching.

6. "The soul of goodness in things evil."

What now was accomplished by Robertson? Spiritual results are too subtle to be measured and counted, but we can indicate some of the directions of his influence:

1. Upon those who came in touch with him and heard him —his congregation, and the working men amongst whom he labored. In striving for the uplifting of the workingmen, his efforts were the most successful of those made in his day.

2. His influence after death through his writings. His sermons have a perennial freshness, dealing with eternal principles, telling the old story of sin and grace which is ever new. They appeared very soon in many editions, and continue in great favor to the present.

3. As a preacemaker, thinks his biographer, he did the great work of his life. All thoughtful men, however divided in opinion, find in his writings a point of contact and thus are led to stand more closely together on the truth of Christ.

4. Toward science his attitude was friendly. "Modern Science," he exclaims, "is eminently Christian," not boldly theorizing as of old, but patiently seeking to be taught by the facts of nature, and performing its wonders by exact imitation of them, on the true principle that the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he sees the Father do. The historical method and the idea of development are clearly recognized by him.

5. Toward the Bible he showed profound reverence, but deprecated bibliolatry. He insisted even in his student days on an accurate and critical study of it, to find out what it really teaches. His view of inspiration was such that he saw the necessity of scientific inaccuracies therein, else it would have been unintelligible to those for whom it was written.

6. He led men to think for themselves, and to follow the lead of divine guidance, not seeking external infallible authority. Within the necessary limits a man should follow out his own character, and not submit to the common mould. This is the freedom which Christ gives, and which makes the real man.

Robertson did not regard his teaching as final or entirely free from error and defect. He believed it would be superseded by larger knowledge and deeper insight. He lived beyond his own time and suffered for it, but he has an abiding glory in helping to the light many an earnest, struggling soul.

READING, PA.

VI.

FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF MINISTERS.

A. E. TRUXAL, D.D.

There are a few things to which it seems to us the attention of the ministry of our church ought to be called, and in our opinion they are of sufficient importance to be discussed in the columns of the REVIEW.

In the first place there are indications that the significance and importance of the Church Judicatories are not realized as ought to be the case. In our church we have the Consistory, the Classis, the District Synod and the General Synod. This is the order of their existence and also of their relative importance. They are official bodies. The Consistory is composed of the pastor and the acting elders and deacons of the congregation. The other bodies are made up exclusively of ministers and elders. The members of all these judicatories are ordained officers of the church; hence they do not constitute ordinary assemblages. Office in the church carries with it special significance and force, and the higher the office the greater its importance and value. Consequently the people are challenged to show respect unto those who fill the offices of the church. They ought to be esteemed "very highly for their work's sake." Hence too the exhortation, "obey them that have the rule over you and submit yourselves." When these officers meet for the transaction of business pertaining to the Kingdom of God, the body which they compose ought to command the respect and obedience of the people.

The congregation ought to look upon the Consistory as a body representing the interests of the Church, and its decisions and instructions ought to be regarded as coming to the people with official authority. The Classis as a higher body, being constituted of ministers and elders and comprehending in its

jurisdiction a large number of congregations ought to be considered as carrying with it corresponding importance and value to the Church. The Synod stands still higher as it is a more comprehensive body and covers a larger scope of ecclesiastical affairs. The General Synod representing the whole church and exercising the supreme functions of a church court ought to be regarded of highest significance and greatest value to the Church. The Church judicatories, from the lowest to the highest, have an important meaning and value attached to them and ought to be respected and obeyed in the Lord by ministers, officers and people. It seems to us to be the solemn duty of ministers to emphasize by precept and example the importance of these official bodies of the Church. The Apostle said "I magnify mine office." So ministers ought to magnify their office, and church judicatories ought to magnify the functions which they are called upon to perform in the Kingdom of God.

It is the plain duty of elders and deacons to attend the meetings of the Consistory and to discharge the duties devolving upon them as members of that body. Every pastor is ready to affirm this position. In like manner it is the duty of the pastor and delegate elders to attend the meetings of Classis and Synod. And this means that they be present from the opening to the close of these meetings. If they have a proper appreciation of the ecclesiastical significance of these judicatories they will realize that their presence at these meetings is demanded of them. Every minister ought to be present at the sessions of Synod, for his own sake, for the sake of the body, and for the sake of the Church. We have in mind a Synod that meets in general convention, as every Synod in our church ought to do. And we rejoice in the fact that the sentiment is growing in favor of reducing the size of our District Synods so that they will be able to meet in general convention. Every minister ought to attend the meeting of his Synod. He will gain inspiration from its services and proceedings, become interested in the general work of the Church, gain a

knowledge of the opinions and feelings and practices of his fellow ministers, and, as a consequence become more efficient in his own field than he otherwise would be. A full attendance on the part of ministers and elders upon the sessions of Synod make the body more imposing, gives inspiration to the speakers, makes the consideration of the subjects discussed more thorough and gives efficiency to its transactions and decisions. And the portion of the Church comprehended in the Synod will be the more benefited because all the ministers and elders will carry the enthusiasm of the body to their congregations and move them to larger efforts and greater zeal. It is a loss to the pastor, a loss to the Synod, and a loss to the congregation for him to absent himself from all or part of the annual sessions of Synod.

The Synod to which it has been our pleasure and profit to belong during our entire ministry has always met in general convention and has all along been fairly well attended especially by the ministry. A tendency, however, has been manifesting itself for some years past on the part of some pastors to absent themselves from some sessions of Synod and from the services of the Lord's Day. Ministers serving charges from ten to fifty miles distant from the place of the Synodical meeting have been making appointments in their own churches for Synod Sunday and returning home to meet their appointment, usually taking some other ministers along to do the preaching for them. At the last meeting of this Synod about ten pastors did so. We regard this practice as a serious mistake. The argument offered in its favor is that an abundance of ministers remain to conduct the religious services of Synod, and that the benefit which the congregations derive from the services conducted by the returning ministers is so much gain. This is a plausible argument, but in our opinion there are other considerations of sufficient weight to set it entirely aside. Those ministers lose the benefit of the Synodical services of the Lord's Day and the Synod loses the benefit of their presence. The meeting of Synod ought to make a favorable im-

pression upon the people of the town in which it is held both for the benefit of the local congregation and for that of the Church at large in whose interest the Synod has assembled. This can be done fully only by the presence of all the members of the body. Further, the pastor who thus habitually absents himself from a portion of the Synodical sessions loses his influence in the body. The Synod unconsciously comes to feel that such a minister does not care for it, and it in turn will then not care for him. He will not have the standing in the body while he would have if he regarded it of sufficient importance to close his church on the Sunday on which it is in session and give it the benefit of his presence. If anyone wishes to enjoy the respect of the body to which he belongs he must show his respect for it. This is a law which cannot be violated with impunity. But more than all this: pastors who hold services in their churches on the Synodical Sunday at a distance from the Synod's place of meeting thereby wrong their own people. Instead of being a benefit, it is an injury to them. It has a tendency to destroy their appreciation of the importance and value of the Synod. By example it teaches them to regard a service in their congregation of more account than the services of this judicatory of the Church. What the people need is a high appreciation of the spiritual and ecclesiastical value of the Synod. They ought to be made to feel the significance of the Synod in the government and guidance and support of all the affairs of the Church. They ought to cherish a proper respect for the judgment and decisions of the Synod. But when the pastor returns on the Synodical Sunday with another minister with him he shows to his people the low estimate which he places upon that body. But if he annually announces to his people that Synod will be in session and consequently there will be no services in their church the following Sunday he teaches them that the meeting of Synod is of importance. The value of the Synod to the Church and to the Kingdom of God is thus magnified and the pastor will be able much more easily and efficiently to carry out the requests and

directions and actions of Synod in his labors during the year. It pays the pastor to attend the sessions of Synod from the beginning to end including the services of the Lord's Day. It pays the congregation for him to do so. And no Consistory ought to request the pastor to return from Synod to conduct services in his own church. We do not mean to object to the filling of the pulpits in the town or city where the Synod is held and in Churches in close proximity to the place, but our argument is meant to hold against going ten or more miles to conduct services in other Churches on the Sunday of Synod.

In the second place we wish to call attention to what may be designated as good manners in the Church. No person of culture will conduct himself in a parlor as he does in a school room or public hall. When he enters the house of his neighbor he does not put his feet on the parlor chairs or sit on the table. He comports himself in harmony with the place. The Church is a holy place. It is consecrated to the worship and service of the Lord God. Here is where prayer is wont to be made; here the word of God is preached and the most solemn ordinaces administered. The use to which the house is devoted gives it its character. The altar, pulpit, reading desk and font enclosed by the chancel rail constitute the inmost sanctuary of the house of God. The Church with its various appointments ought to receive the respect due it by those who occupy it. This is something that ministers of the Gospel are prone to forget at the meetings of Classis and Synod. To loaf against the altar, to sit on, step over or put the feet on the chancel rail is exceedingly bad church manners. The acts of some ministers at the ecclesiastical gatherings would indicate that the consecration of the Church had for the time being been withdrawn. Things are done in connection with Synodical meetings in and about the chancel that are shocking to a proper sense of church propriety. The people are frequently taught to respect the house of God. They are reminded that it is a place of prayer; a place where the Lord draws nigh in order that the people may hold communion and

fellowship with Him, and that consequently it is a holy place. But what impression will the people receive when they witness ministers flagrantly violating the requirements of good manners in the sanctuary of the Lord? In justification of such offenses it may be said that they are thoughtlessly committed. But have ministers of the Gospel the right to be thoughtless in such matters? Has anyone the right to forget the common proprieties of life? When one stands before an earthly king or in the presence of ladies, when he is in the parlor of his friend or at the dinner table of his host he is in duty bound to conduct himself in keeping with the place and surroundings. In like manner every Christian man and woman especially every minister of the Gospel ought to remember the proprieties of the place when he enters the Church consecrated by prayer and worship, and as he moves about its most sacred appointments he ought to do so in a respectful manner. Sitting on the altar or pulpit or chancel rail or any other deportment of the same general character are acts that are very much to be deplored. These words are written because there seems to be a demand that attention be called to the improprieties that are only too frequently committed in the house of God.

In this connection we desire to call attention to another matter more or less closely related to the subject just discussed, A certain respect is also due ministers of the Gospel because of the position they occupy in the Church. The office they fill ought to challenge the respect of the people. It may be said that if the occupants of the office merit respect they will also receive it; that the people of the present day have no special regard for the office or station of life a man may occupy, but only for the character of the man himself. But such ought not be the case. Official position, unless the person in it is entirely unfit for the place, ought to command the respect of the people in accordance with the dignity and importance of the office. And we believe that this duty is also generally recognized by the people. It has been charged against the American people that they are lacking in good manners and

that their children are not taught to show respect towards their elders and persons in official stations. Whether there be any real foundation for this charge we cannot say, but we are convinced that in the matter of respect for ministers the people need instruction. And one of the best ways for ministers to instruct the people is by example. There is a proper and an improper form of addressing ministers and of speaking of them; the one is respectful and polite and the other is not, and some ministers in their public utterances fail to make the distinctions. Correct forms of speech are Rev. A. B. Blank, Rev. Mr. Blank and Mr. Blank. Incorrect forms so frequently heard are Rev. Blank and simply Reverend. If the minister is a bearer of the title of Doctor of Divinity the correct forms to be employed (some in writing, others in speaking) are Rev. A. B. Blank, D.D., Rev. Dr. Blank, Dr. Blank and simply Doctor. The incorrect forms are Rev. Blank, Mr. Blank and Reverend. The term Reverend is not a title strictly speaking. It is not a *name*—not a noun—it is an adjective. A title is a name, Judge, General, Professor, Doctor and the like are nouns and may be legitimately used in addressing persons. But reverend being an adjective when applied to a person as above mentioned becomes of the nature of a nick-name. The word reverend belongs to the same general class with honorable, respectable and the like. The people do not mean to be disrespectful or impolite in calling a minister Reverend, but in fact it is not a respectful form of address. Nathanael Hawthorne is speaking of the conduct of the people in a carnival in the city of Rome says: "popular rudeness is sometimes the symptom of rude moral health." Applying the underlying idea of the quotation to the case in hand we may say that although the people employ an improper form of speech they mean to be respectful and polite. Nevertheless they need instruction, and ministers ought to show them a good example in this matter. But quite frequently they are guilty of using the same improper terms in their writings and public addresses. These infractions of polite

forms of speech appear frequently in country newspapers and rural correspondence and in some religious papers too; but they are seldom found in city papers and periodicals of literary culture. It seems to us that ministers ought to pay some attention to politeness of speech and furnish the people with correct examples in speaking to and of one another. It is a proverbial saying that if anyone does not respect himself neither can he expect others to respect him. If the members of a profession do not employ polite forms of speech in addressing one another neither will others do so. Ministers ought to be examples of culture, politeness and good manners. If they are lacking in these regards what can be expected of the people in general?

The matters presented by this paper may be considered by some as too trivial to demand attention. In our opinion they are of sufficient importance to receive the earnest consideration of the ministers of the Church.

VII.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

REV. A. S. WEBER, D.D.

THE VIRGIN BIRTH AND THE INCARNATION.

Several years ago, Bishop Gore in his Bampton Lecture on the incarnation, declared that among subjects of modern religious controversy, "not the least important from a *philosophical* view-point, was that of the virgin birth of Christ." More recently the Dean of Westminster has written that no well-informed person in our day, "would dispute that under the influence of '*natural science*' there has come into the minds of many thoughtful men, a very serious disquietude in regard to the doctrine of the virgin birth." And in that remarkable brochure by Professor Lobstein of Strasbourg University, noticed by the late lamented editor of this Review, Doctor William Rupp, in some of its earlier pages,* readers are counseled to give up on grounds of *historical criticism,* their confidence in the particular passages of Matthew and Luke in which the virgin birth of the Saviour is recorded, and assured that such "surrender does not imperil the imperishable essence of the Christian faith."† These three distinguished writers may be taken as representative of that large class, who from considerations of speculative philosophy, of physical science, and of the critical investigation of the first and third of the synoptic narratives, are realizing that around the virgin birth of Christ and the incarnation of the Son of God, as a doctrinal centre of prime importance for the Chris-

* See THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW, April, 1898, pp. 281–283.

† Lobstein's "The Virgin Birth, An Historical and Critical Essay," p. 38.

tian faith, the controversial storms of the age are more and more gathering.

It can be a matter of no surprise, therefore, that contributions to the literature * on the subject should be so rapidly multiplying, and that not a few of the foremost Christian thinkers here at home and abroad should feel themselves called upon to write for the relief, if possible, of the present distress of faith and to conserve the doctrine of a real incarnation of the Son of God through virgin birth.

Among these thinkers, is there anyone in America, entitled to a more respectful hearing upon the subject, than Doctor Borden P. Bowne, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University? Where is there a writer with ampler knowledge, purer literary style, better accredited sanity and balance of judgment, keener sensitiveness to evidence, finer philosophical temper, and manlier courage to express and follow the truth as he sees it, than the author of "The Immanence of God,"—one of the great books of last year? In an essay † published by him a few months ago on the "Incarnation," there are several paragraphs, one on the meaning and metaphysics of the doctrine as a possible fact, another on the religious and practical significance of the fact and doctrine, than which it would be hard to find anything more convincing in logical argument, or more winsome in the 'sweet reasonableness' with which it is set forth. In it he frankly acknowledges the difficulties which, upon the mention of the infinite coming to dwell in the finite through the incarnation, at once suggest themselves to the imagination of men, and which are to superficial thought so great, as to make many hasten to the conclusion that the doctrine is absurd and the fact impossible.

* Cf. *The American Journal of Theology*, January, 1906; *The Princeton Theological Review*, October, 1905; "Andrew's Man and the Incarnation," Putnam's, 1905; Peyton's, "The Incarnation," Clark's, 1905; and Bowne on the same subject.

† Published in *The Japan Daily Mail* of October 7, 1905, for the courtesy of sending a copy of which to America, grateful acknowledgements are here made to the Rev. W. H. Seiple, Ph.D., of Sendai.

With equal frankness he points out however that the appeal to the imagination is mistaken, and that that faculty in this matter has no jurisdiction. Even we ourselves, he shows, are not confined to a finite body in the sense of its containing us. Being in the body means simply and only having a type of experience which is physically conditioned. Being in the world means only having a certain type of experience with certain forms and laws. Passing out of the world would mean the passing simply from one type and condition of experience to another. And being a man in general means only existence under certain conditions and laws, so that if any being should become subject to the conditions, laws and limitations of human life, that being would by that fact and so far forth, in the only intelligible sense of the phrase, be a human being.

By the incarnation of our Lord, we must understand therefore, he affrms, that "the Son of God became subject to the conditions, laws and limitations of human life, and that thus he became in the true sense of the word a man. It is in this sense that we must interpret Christ's assuming and living our life through the incarnation. This is intelligible at least in its meaning, and this is enough. When we say more than this we soon lose ourselves in words and bad metaphysics." Were these views consistently held and the warning carefully heeded, is it not clear that far less difficulty would be encountered in seeking to apprehend the meaning of the mystery here under reference? And as to the possibility of such self-limitation on the part of the Son of God in becoming incarnate, the author of this essay is candid enough to say, "we can know nothing, just as we must confess also that we know equally little how it is impossible. The progress of scientific and philosophic reflection, is making the problems of fundamental existence more and more mysterious, and by revealing the limitations and relativity of our thought, is making thoughtful men more and more careful in pronouncing on what is possible or impossible apart from the indications of experience." In the necessary absence of experimental data on which to

express a positive judgment, attention is invited to the net results of theological study on the one hand, and of Christological thought on the other. That of the first is that "while God in his absolute existence must always remain an unfathomable mystery to us, we come nearest the truth when we think of God as the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. This is the doctrine of the Trinity, a doctrine, mysterious enough no doubt, but after all the line of the least resistance, both from the biblical and philosophical standpoint. There is no view that is not attended with great difficulty when we try to think it through. The conception of a community of persons in the unity of the divine existence is no worse off in this respect, than the conception of a single and lonely personality, without the eternal fellowship which moral life demands. Likewise the net result of the second is that Jesus was not merely the Son of Mary, but also the Son of God, who took upon him the laws and experiences of the human lot, in order that he might lift us to God. This is the doctrine of the incarnation, which depends for its possibility on the other doctrine of the Trinity." All this is well put, and ought to assist men in holding fast to scriptural conceptions, rather than to embrace others involved in more impenetrable obscurity.

When the religious and practical significance of the doctrine is brought under review, Doctor Bowne's reflections are uncommonly cogent and satisfactory. Constituted as it is, our human world can receive no revelation of God at all to be compared with the self-manifestation made in the incarnation of his Son. Were the end of self-manifestation, the revelation of mere power and intelligence, or of a certain measure of goodness in the arrangements of the natural world, no incarnation would have been required. "But the higher revelation of moral love in the highest degree," we must all acknowledge with him, "lies far beyond these things, and is involved in that order of revelation for which the incarnation stands." Therein we learn more than the largely negative and abstract thing which the older theologies considered under

the topic of divine holiness. Therein we are taught more of God than those theologies conceived of in speaking of God as the moral governor of the universe, and as the executor of righteous laws. Those theologies and the old philosophies hardly recognized God as being ethical at all. For them he was a mere metaphysical perfection, free very largely if not entirely, from care or thought of his creatures, who as sinners were unworthy of and beneath his notice.

Under the compelling force of a deeper knowledge of what is implied in the doctrine of the incarnation, Christian thought has in our day been moved far away however from such inadequate notions. Upon this, Professor Bowne insists with just emphasis. "In the light of present-day knowledge," he says, "we see God to be the most deeply obligated being in existence, to be bound by moral principles even more than we who are his children. The recognition that God is love, has forced men to give up their absolutist notions of divine sovereignty, on which the theologies of a hundred years were based, and has led them to see that consistent with his name of love, he must do the works of love, and be all that love implies. Otherwise love were not love. This supreme requirement of the Christian conception of God is met, and met only, in the incarnation; in the giving of himself in the person of his Son as a sacrifice for us, thus becoming the chief burden-bearer and leader of all in self-abnegation. The incarnation signifies the filling-full of all the possibilities of moral responsibility and divine grace. There is nothing beyond this. The heroic, the loving, self-sacrificing God stands revealed in this highest possible revelation of himself in the incarnate Son. For love's sake, love's highest and supreme requirement is met in this doctrine of the incarnation."

The practical religious outcome of this self-manifestation on the part of God is to be seen in the achievements of Christian history and civilization. Its inspirational and uplifting power is always finding response in the depths of the human soul, and must continue to do so with increased and more

pervasive power as the true nature and the implications of the incarnation come to be more fully and generally understood. "It is the incarnate Son of God,"—to quote once more from our essayist,—"that is bearing the sins and sorrows of men, and is faithful unto death, in order that he may know the love and righteousness of God and redeem unto himself the world of men. The divine Son identifies himself with the least of these his brethren, so that whatever is done to them is done to him. These things are the essence of Christianity; but what becomes of them apart from the incarnation? It is one thing if only a Jewish peasant uttered these words; it is quite another if the speaker was the Lord of life and glory!" In the recognition of the truth that in the doctrine of the incarnation the self-sacrificing love of God, and even the ethical perfection and moral grandeur of his character, are bound up, we discover the explanation of men's clinging so tenaciously to the mystery of the virgin birth and the incarnation. "It contains all that is distinctively Christian. No wonder that Paul cries out, 'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ!' No wonder that Peter declares that angels desire to look into this grace of God! Surely in neither earth nor heaven is there anything great or divine besides! And we may be perfectly sure that no lower conception of God will permanently command the minds and hearts of men."

From these observations intended to meet the philosophical difficulties underlying the incarnation, we may turn now to similarly forceful and persuasive arguments addressed to that large class whose faith is disturbed if not destroyed by the revelations of 'natural science' supposedly contradictory of the Christian doctrine of the incarnation. The arguments to which reference is made are set forth with signal ability in a recently published little volume on "The Incarnation"* by the Reverend William W. Peyton, of England, who brings to his task a rare equipment for successful effort. Quoting Huxley's words of twenty-five years ago that "virgin procreation

* Peyton's, "The Incarnation," A. and C. Black, London, 1905.

and resuscitation from apparent death are ordinary phenomena for the naturalist," he confidently affirms that Science itself has written a chapter on virgin reproduction, quite as mysterious as that contained in the gospel narratives,—one that makes quite as large demands on credulity, as Christianity does on faith, and yet is unquestioningly accepted by the rank and file of modern physicists. For this author "virgin birth is a supreme function of nature, overt and cryptic through whole realms to this day, and therefore its appearance in the human family, as it is alleged to have done in the case of Jesus' birth by the writers of the first and third gospels, need not be regarded as "a violent irruption into the course of nature." He finds the incarnation idea to be a foundation principle of creation, and virgin generation to have a large, long place in the evolutionary scheme and processes of nature. And accordingly the application of the epithets 'miraculous' and 'supernatural' in an exceptional sense to the virgin birth of our Saviour, are, to his mind, no longer allowable.

There are spiritual interferences admittedly observable in many epochs along the entire evolutionary course of natural development, and it seems not unreasonable to ask, why upon the ground of a similar intervention the birth of Christ should not seem explainable? "In the advent of the Son of God," says Doctor Peyton, "the divine purposes were to reach their culmination," and if anywhere intervention can be justified, it must be here. "Through the incarnation the one main dynamic was to be provided, for the ennoblement of individual character, for the revelation of the inestimable value of every human soul together with its immortal destiny, and for the humanizing and transfiguration of society in the family, the community, in the state, and in the race. Why allow intervention at lower and less important epochs, and deny it with reference to the supreme event of history?"

For want of space, the pleasure it would otherwise be to follow the argument of this book further must be sacrificed.

It must content us to note that its pages gather a large detail of facts from the 'lower creation' of plant life, from the 'higher creation' of animal life, and from the earlier historic examples of human nature, to confirm its main contentions. It lays under tribute the vast results of its author's wide scientific and historical researches, of his comprehensive knowledge of poetry and art,—all of which are marshalled with commanding skill to serve his purposes. It can hardly fail to give valuable and illuminating suggestions to minds that have been perplexed by the seemingly irreconcilable discrepancies, on the one hand of natural science in general and of the evolutionary hypothesis in particular, and on the other hand of the fundamental mystery affirmed in the New Testament Scriptures. Properly understood, the book shows, no such irreconsilable differences to exist, and that one may consistently be a scientist and theistic evolutionist and at the same time an intelligent believer in the virgin birth of the incarnate Son of the eternal Father.

In addition to the foregoing suggestions for the relief of distressed faith caused by philosophical or scientific considerations, a word or two should perhaps be said in regard to the third source from which embarrassment comes to men's minds, —namely, the claims of critical scholars with reference to the 'virgin' accounts of the Saviour's birth contained in the first and third of our gospel records. Lobstein, whom we have quoted in the first paragraph, it is of course well known, is not the only one among critics that declines to accept those accounts as historically authentic. There are many who regard those passages just as he does,—additions that have been made to the original documents possibly by mistake, probably with design. There are many others* however whose opinion is not without weight, that hold to the traditional view, regarding them as trustworthy as any other portion of those records. Amid such disagreement of expert scholarship, the ordinary student of those narratives will feel constrained to hold his

* Cf. *Princeton Theological Review,* October, 1905.

mind for the time being in abeyance. Let us suppose for the moment, however, that all reliable New Testament scholars should, in the pursuit of their reverent investigations, feel it necessary to homologate Lobstein's conclusions, would that oblige them or us to give up belief in the supreme and distinctive doctrine on which the whole superstructure of Christianity is resting? Elsewhere,* the present writer has expressed his abiding conviction, that such would not at all be the necessary outcome. The assurance given by the learned professor of Strasbourg, to the effect that the surrender of belief in the historical trustworthiness of the 'virgin' passages does not "imperil faith in the imperishable essence of Christianity" seems to have been made in all sincerity, and to rest on a secure basis. In the letters of the Apostle Paul one finds no reference to the matter in question; if he had a knowledge of it, he evidently did not feel it necessary to his purpose in propogating the Gospel, to accentuate it in his discourses or epistles. And yet, nowhere in the Christian scriptures is the pre-existence of Christ more clearly and explicitly affirmed than in his writings, and nowhere is the significance or worth of the incarnate life and self-sacrificing death of the Son of God more profoundly emphasized, and carried home to the burdened hearts of sinful men. For him 'the Christ of experience,'—to use Doctor Forrest's felicitous phrase,—was the all-sufficient and universally available testimony as to the fulness of the eternal Godhead dwelling in Christ bodily, and without that testimony no verbal utterance, even though it come from the lips of an inspired Evangelist, can support a living and saving faith in Christ as the incarnate Son of the Most High. So long, therefore, as faith in the living and glorified Christ can be verified in the personal experiences of our own lives, and its value and saving power, tested and proved by its effects on our characters, so long—is it not safe to say?—Christianity itself can not be supposed to depend

* *The Reformed Church Messenger*, December 18, 1902, "Immanuel, God With Us."

upon this or that disputed passage, however beautiful its charm and poetry, in our sacred writings. One will never be able to give up the two 'virgin' accounts without reluctance and regret, but if competent Christian research compels it, one will without them still be able to say in language sanctified by the use of it through centuries: "Thou art the King of glory, O, Christ. Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father. When thou hadst tasted the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers."

"THE MATERIAL ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY."

Well-deserved and wide-spread applause has been gratefully accorded by the Christian public to the author of "Mind and Matter,—A Criticism of Haeckel's 'Riddle of the Universe.'" Within the small compass of less than a score of pages one finds here a merciless and successful exposure of the unscientific dogmatism of Haeckel and his unwarranted assumptions. In a recent issue of what is probably the leading contemporary theological publication,* the same writer, who is the Principal of the University of Birmingham, returns to discuss under the above heading, some kindred topics suggested by the earliest criticism which had made its first printed appearance in the same pages. Of those topics, and arising very naturally, are the questions of personal immortality, and of the resurrection. Both of these are unhesitatingly and unequivocally affirmed, and vigorously supported.

The way in which this is done will hardly satisfy, however, such as are accustomed to cling pertinaciously to the letter of traditional creeds. He declines, for instance, to accept that interpretation of the word "body" which makes it to imply a physical restoration of it, in the language,—"I believe in the resurrection of the body." 'Bodily resurrection,' in his view, is one of the 'legends' which the state of belief at the time had almost inevitably to produce in connection with the disappearance of Christ's body from the tomb. But in our day, he says,

* *The Hibbert Journal*, January, 1906, article by Sir Oliver Lodge.

"the idea of the immortal in him, rejoining the corpse in that sense is unthinkable and repulsive; it could arise only in an age of ignorance." The Nicene phrase, 'resurrection of the dead,' is equally unsatisfying to him, since "that which survives is just that which had never died." He prefers the Pauline conception, and argues that "any immortal part must have the power of constructing for itself a suitable vehicle of manifestation," and to him this possible vehicle must be "the essential meaning of the word body in the particular article of the creed. "The identity of the material particle does not constitute the identity of the person, nor is it essential to the identity of the body."

With reference specially to the resurrection of Christ, Principal Lodge makes these interesting and suggestive observations: "That he should surmise death, that he should afterwards be able to appear to worshippers, that he would exert a perennial and edifying influence on his disciples of all time—all this is orthodox, and all this is not repugnant to science as I conceive it. Is anything more, necessary? The difficulties introduced by the effort to contemplate the circumstances of anything approaching physical resuscitation, or reëmployment of the same body, are very great. The body notoriously had not its old proporties, for it appeared and disappeared, and penetrated walls. The appearances during the forty days are not inconsistent with the legends of apparitions the world over, and a farewell phantasmal appearance described as an Ascension is credible enough."

The line of argument pursued by Sir Oliver is by no means exclusively his alone. One of the most learned and versatile of present-day writers, whose books and contributions to periodical literature are just now so eagerly and attentively read by tens of thousands on both sides of the water, follows precisely the same course of thought in his chapter on "What is the Resurrection?"* "Everywhere in the four-fold narrative of the gospels," he declares, "those who study the

* Brierley's "The Eternal Religion," pp. 75–85. Whittaker, 1906.

whole of it carefully will discover, there is the idea of a manifestation subsequent to Christ's death that takes the form of an unearthly, immaterial, and wholly spiritual happening, * * * and any theory which takes the post-mortem gospel stories into account, must square itself with them. They dispose utterly of the idea that in the minds of the writers, the appearance to the first disciples was in a body which even resembled in character and quality that which had been laid in the grave."

And it is pointed out by Doctor Brierley, that precisely here are met and answered the objections of those who ask, 'What on this theory is to be made of the empty tomb, and what became of the body of Jesus?' The answer he gives is quite simple. "We do not know, nor does anyone else. That is one of the secrets of history." A darkness rests on these details, De Wette is quoted to have observed, which, with our present information, it is impossible to penetrate. "But let it be immediately noticed," he continues, "that if the view here taken throws no light on this point, neither does any other theory that holds clearly to the biblical accounts. A form which made men 'suppose they had seen a spirit,' which appeared suddenly in a room where the doors were closed, and which vanished without warning from men's sight, whatever it might be, was assuredly, we repeat, not the physical form that was interred in Joseph's tomb. Moreover the transformation of the one into the other is neither scientific nor biblical." For the benefit of those who feel inclined on supposed biblical grounds to register a demurrer to these conclusions, he adds, that "apart from other considerations, the supposition of a physical resurrection, would be in flat contradiction of St. Paul's argument: 'That which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body which shall be, * * * so also is the resurrection of the dead.' That is a sufficient clew, and it is a credible one. * * * The resurrection, in fine, was the psychic manifestation of the departed Lord. That was for the first disciples the Easter faith. It was the faith that converted them, and

started them forth to convert the world, and what was good enough for them should be good enough for us."

But why should we select Brierley's words to show that the author of "The Material Element in Christianity" is not alone in holding these views, when those of one of our own Reformed Church ministers, equally explicit and convincing, and already more than ten years old, offer themselves to the same purpose? Is it because it still remains true as in the days of the Psalmist, that 'the eyes of the fool are in the ends of the earth?' That question aside, it is certainly true that as yet our Church has not put a proper estimate upon the scholarly insight and spiritual apprehension of Christian truth in the light of results achieved by modern physical and theological science, which are disclosed in the pages of the late Doctor Calvin S. Gerhard's unpretentious little volume on "Death and the Resurrection."* Many, it may be said with considerable confidence, perhaps even of our own ministers, will read Lodge and Brierley and glory in the "new" doctrinal discoveries made in their writings, without being aware that their conclusions had been anticipated by more than a decade in the undervalued and largely neglected book which our still-mourned-for brother left as his richest legacy for the enlightenment and comfort of his fellow Christians. If ten or twelve years ago the mind of the American Church was not sufficiently prepared to appreciate and welcome his utterances on these topics, is it too much to hope that now by the re-examination of its lucid, calm and illumining pages, due credit may yet be given to the name of its distinguished author?

Like the writers above quoted, Doctor Gerhard was fully persuaded that by holding definitely to the scriptural records, one can not believe in a physicial resurrection of the body of Christ. "How did he appear?" he asks. "Was there in his case a resuscitation of the corpse? Did he fail to see corruption, because before corruption set in his corpse was revivified?

* Published by the Reformed Church Publication Board, Philadelphia, Pa., 1895.

According to the analogy which he himself uses we must answer this question in the negative. He said of himself: 'Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die it beareth much fruit.' * * * This analogy leads us to the conclusion that not the glorification, but the dissolution, of his natural body formed the condition of his resurrection into the new form of life. * * * What became of his corpse we need not, therefore, be at a loss to know, for if we carry out his own analogy we must necessarily conclude that it followed the universal law of, 'Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return.' * * * His corpse was resolved into its original elements and thus escaped corruption, not by glorification, but by immediate dissolution."

The instantaneousness of the transformation of the Saviour's corpse, as thus affirmed, it is pointed out in a later paragraph, "is not more magical than his sudden manifestations of himself on the third day after the crucifixion and his equally abrupt subsequent appearances and disappearances. Everything relating to his resurrection lies above and beyond the plane of the natural. The rapid development of his spiritual body implies the equally rapid dissolution of his corpse, not by setting it aside, but by accelerating the activity of the laws by means of which atomic centres of force are brought into new relations and adjustments." This is in entire accord with Lodge's dictum that any immortal part must have the power of constructing for itself a suitable vehicle for self-manifestation, and shows that its author had a firmer grasp and clearer conception of the underlying facts than the prolific British writer. What the latter calls 'power' was designated by Doctor Gerhard 'invisible and intangible forces,' by the calling of which,—not ordinarily operative in Christ's risen state,—into exercise when desired, Jesus "could make himself visible," it is declared, "to the eyes of his disciples." To constantly increasing numbers in the Church results of scientific research and biblical study, such as these, are cordially welcome. By new interpretations of their language, the creeds may be given assent and valid affirmation.

VIII.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE HOME.*

PROF. GEORGE W. RICHARDS, D.D.

The normal man lives his life in the home, the school, the church and the state. These social organisms are rooted in the human constitution, and in them men are to work out their divine destiny. The home is first both in time and in importance. It is the unit of the social order and has specific functions to perform in the education of the race.

The significance of the home is now more recognized than ever before. Jesus gave it the proper place in the religious life. He was himself an obedient child. He attended a wedding and was a guest at Bethany. He made the social life to be the sphere for the unfolding of the religious life. The home, not the monastery, is the school of saints. The sociologist, the pedagogue, the ethicist and the evangelist unite in magnifying the influence of the family. Mulford said: "Sociology is the coming science and the family holds the key to it." No less significant is the statement that "a child's first teacher is the one who loves it first." Martensen wrote: "The family forms the commencement and the foundation of the moral world." Jerry McAuley made an almost startling assertion, when he said: "Far be it from me to limit the grace of God, but I never yet knew a man to be permanently reclaimed who did not have a good mother." In his study of revivals Davenport concludes that "a sound family religion furnishes the only sufficient basis for healthy evangelism."

From these testimonies it appears that what men have

* This paper was read at the Inter-Church Conference on Federation, New York City, November 15, 1905.

always instinctively felt and Christ has taught, science corroborates,—the primacy of the home in the development of the individual and the social life.

We can only understand the part which the home is to take in religious education when we have a definite idea of what religious education is. Since religious education embraces not only a part of man's life but has to do with the whole of it, religious education must include the whole educational system. Protestantism does not draw a line between the religious and the secular. Human life in all its phases is sacred, and all its institutions are divine. The only line of division is that between the christian and the unchristian, the good and the bad. By living in the social organisms in which we are born we are to be educated for the kingdom of love, righteousness and freedom. Each one of these organisms is of God and has its own peculiar place in the divine plan of education.

Dr. Butler defines education as "a gradual adjustment to the spiritual inheritance." The inheritance is fivefold: the scientific, the literary, the esthetic, the politico-social and the religious. If we accept this division, we shall find the home to be specially adapted to lead men into the last two forms of inheritance—the politico-social and the religious. For a home may be a good home without literary, scientific or esthetic culture, but it cannot be a home at all without making or marring the social and religious life of its members. In these respects it wields an influence different in degree, if not in kind, from that of the school, the church or the state. It must be remembered, however, that these latter institutions also have farreaching social and religious value.

We are now confronted by a second question. What portion of the religious inheritance is the home to transmit? The answer requires a definition of religion. It is presupposed that the only form of religion which is considered by this assembly is Christianity. It would not be prudent to attempt a scientific definition of the essence of Christianity at this time. That problem seems to have taken, in our day, the place of the

sacramental question in the 16th century, in being a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense. When, however, we approach Christianity from the human or moral side, it is not so difficult to find common ground upon which the church universal may stand. Jesus defined it as love—love of God and love of men. Paul speaks of it as righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. James describes pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father as visiting the fatherless and widows and keeping oneself unspotted from the world. Sabbatier says it is "a filial feeling toward God and a fraternal feeling toward men." The home is not a school of theology. It is not to teach church history nor dogmatics. It is a school, so far as it is a school, for training in Christian living. Whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are lovely are to be taught in the home. The child should breathe in the atmosphere of love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness and temperance.

The work of education in the family must be done in two ways: first, by influence and second, by instruction.

By virtue of its constitution the home teaches religion. In it the three great factors, which work together in the making of manhood, cooperate. They are hereditary, environment, and personality. These forces become concrete by being embodied in the living personalities of the family. They have a subtle power over its members. If heredity or environment are to be modified or overcome, it must be done largely by the force of personality. In the domestic circle personality has free scope, and is able, by reason of the mutual confidence which exists and the plastic condition of childhood, to do its greatest work. The natural relations into which the members of a family enter call forth the essentially Christian virtues. Compare the home with the school or state, and the difference will at once appear. In the school you find the relations of a teacher, a pupil and a classmate. In the state you have the executive, the citizen, and the fellow-citizen. These relations

have educational value. They are indispensable in character-building. In the home, however, you have husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, kindred and friends. In the domestic relations a part of human nature is touched which neither the school nor the state can reach. In passing from the former to the latter you pass from the sphere of love to that of law. The one draws the other drives.

Marriage itself rests upon love, chastity and service. The parental and filial relations require obedience, reverence, self-assertion and self-sacrifice. The ethical principles which are required for a prosperous state and a live church are in a measure of necessity developed in the home.

One of the primary purposes of Christian nurture is to make the child realize the presence of God in his life and in the world about him. God's presence may be particularly manifest in the family life. Here love prevails, the spirit of truth rules, noble aspirations are kindled. These are for the child a form of the divine presence and an interpretation of the character of God. The father's love is the nearest approach on earth to the love of God. Jesus reveals the goodness of the heavenly Father, by comparing it to the love of an earthly father. "Or what man is there among you, who, if his son shall ask him for a loaf, will give him a stone; or if he shall ask him for a fish will give him a serpent? * * * How much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good gifts to them that ask him?" A mother's sympathy typifies that of God. "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you" (Isai. 66: 13). The joys and sorrows, the births and deaths, the successes and failures which are inevitable in the family are occasions by which men are taught the truth of Christ.

It is not a mere accident that the forms for Jesus' revelation are taken from the home. The Christian name for God is "Father." Men are called "sons of God." Religion is fellowship between the heavenly Father and his children, between men and brethren. Even the *natural* home is a preparation

for the higher fellowship of the kingdom. The *Christian* home is the highest form of the kingdom in the present dispensation. The home, accordingly, educates men in religion by virtue of what it is, by the environment which it creates, and by the requirements which it makes on the personal life of its members.

The education of the home is not to be simply by influence but also by direct instruction. Here we meet with the most difficult problem of the church in this generation. It is universally conceded that family worship, the teaching of the Bible and the practice of daily prayer have inestimable value for the development of the Christian life. The parent can teach with an authority which neither the pastor nor the teacher can have. The disposition of reverence and sympathy, in parents, for religious matters is readily communicated to the child. Cordial coperation in the work of the congregation will attach the child's heart to the church. The humble acceptance of adversity and prosperity as from God, the patient bearing of burdens, the sublime optimism of faith, will determine the child's attitude toward God. The child should be impressed with the conviction that he is a child of God and brought up in the faith and hope of the Gospel. Mr. Moody believed that "we might train children that they should be converted so early that they can't tell when they were converted." He reached the conclusion of Bushnell, who occupied a different standpoint, that "a child is to grow up a Christian and never know himself as being otherwise."

A number of obstacles interfere with the educational work of the home. Even Christian homes are under the influence of false standards of life. There is a wide difference between the Gospel proclaimed from the pulpit and the spirit which shapes the ambitions of the home. The contradiction between profession and practice is nowhere so evident as in the privacy of the family and is instinctively felt by the children. Parents have little enthusiasm for the practical training of children in Christian ideals. They are captivated by the subtle material-

ism of the age. The temporal prospects of children are of greater concern to parents than their eternal welfare. Love of money, pleasure, position and display have superseded the love of Christ. Success is put above character, gold above goodness. Many a Christian mother and some preachers of the Gospel would not urge their sons to enter the ministry because the sacrifice is too great. Men confess the cross, sing it, and glory in it, but shrink from laying it on the backs of their children. The spirit of the home must be transformed before it can take effective part in Christian education.

Many evangelical churches have followed the emotional and revivalistic system of religion to such an extent that the educational system has fallen into disuse. By implication religious education of children is worthless. The child is excluded from the church or the kingdom until the sign of election is given or the travail of an instantaneous conversion is experienced. Even in the churches where the catechetical methods are in vogue and children are to be brought up in Christ from infancy, family training is neglected and Christian nurture is left to pastors, teachers, and schools. A false reliance on the sacraments and ordinances of the church has minimised the importance of religious education. The day has come when protestants ought to unite in the advocacy of the educational system of religion. It is a revival of original protestantism, and by no means an innovation. It is vindicated not only by long experiment but by the latest results of psychology and pedagogy. The Holy Spirit works through truth. The Grace of God is the truth of Christ come to life in the conscience of men. The sacraments are only grace-bearing when they are truth-bearing. The appreciation of these fundamental principles will awaken the sense of responsibility in parents for the Christian training of children as well as convince them that their work is not a fruitless task which the Spirit of God will set aside by a conversion that is far more magical than miraculous and more unnatural than supernatural.

Social and industrial conditions interfere with Christian education in the home. Parents may be willing to train children in religion, but they have neither the time, ability nor courage. In the struggle for life men and women are hard pressed for time. Even the Sabbath is invaded by industrial, social or ecclesiastical pursuits. The family circle around the fireside, discussions of religious topics, and family prayer are impracticable in many Christian households. The minds of parents and children are so absorbed by the current topics of the day that religious matters are rarely approached and only with great diffidence.

How may these obstacles be removed? The sacredness and the privacy by which the home is hedged in make it all the more difficult to remedy its defects. It cannot be done by legislation nor by new organizations. Help must come from the church and from the school. By the "foolishness of preaching" the general tone of the family life must be improved. The ideals in parents in reference to the purpose of life must be christianized. The responsibilities of the home for the religious development of children should be laid upon the hearts of men. Proclamation, agitation and education will arouse the conscience and stir men to action. On this point protestantism can unite and with the spiritual weapons of the Gospel reclaim the home as a potent factor for religious education.

Personal influence is indispensable. The pastor by wise direction can help the parents do what they actually desire to do, but for want of method and courage have left undone. Forms of prayer for use in the family, selections from the Scriptures, catechisms and religious literature will aid the inexperienced and diffident parent. The cottage prayer-meeting may open the way into the home for the family altar. The Sunday-school, through its home department, may be made an agency for reviving the interest in Christian nurture at home.

While the spirit and the content of religious education come from the church, it is the mission of the school to work

out a method of teaching based on psychological and pedagogical principles. Instinct has generally guided mothers in the rearing of children, yet instinct is to be turned into a rational course of action by the light of scientific investigation. The thoughtful parent will have an open mind for suggestions from the pedagogue and psychologist.

Whatever methods we use, we need the patience of the saints in this work. In spiritual and moral matters we should be satisfied if men progress an inch a century. Family customs connot be changed in a moment nor the life of communities in a day.

Behind the question of religious education in the home is the still greater problem of saving the home itself. The tendencies which threaten its very being are legion. Its physical bases are unsound. Parents are impure. Tainted blood has been flowing through generations of vicious ancestors. Conception and pregnancy are accidents. Economic conditions interfere with a normal home life. A large proportion of men and women do not have the money necessary for the rearing of a family. The gravitation of population toward the cities is unfavorable to domestic happiness. It is hard to have a home in crowded tenements or in gilded palaces. Children are not wanted in hotels, apartment houses, ocean liners, and summer resorts. With time divided between society and business men and women have no room for religious instruction. Children are given into the care of nurses, governesses and school-teachers. Individualism is one of the fruits of protestantism, but a onesided emphasis of it has helped to disintegrate families. The increasing wealth and luxury of our country wean men away from the enjoyment of the pleasures of home.

These statements raise problems for the sociologist, the statesman and the reformer. They have, under God's guidance, an important work to do. Their work is not any less divine because their methods are scientific. Still the mountain which rises before Zerubbabel must become a plain," not

by might nor by power but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." The spirit which makes a Christian home must come from Christ through his Church. Science is to give wise direction to the spirit of love and service. Then the home will become a scientifically religious factor in the Christian education of men.

LANCASTER, PA.

IX.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

CHRISTIANITY AND ETHICS.

If Christianity is the highest type, the one universal form of religion, it must have something in common with all other forms or else it would not belong to the genus religion. Again, if all forms of religion involve two factors, the divine and the human, and the character of any form of religion depends upon the way in which these factors are apprehended and made to affect each other, there are two aspects from which Christianity is to be contemplated and in the light of which its real nature and significance are to be judged. Schleiermacher assumed that religion had its seat primarily in feeling and characterized it as a feeling of absolute dependence upon God. We can understand how from this point of view it should prompt men to worship, and call forth in them the attitude of devotion and service; but, after all, this is only a one-sided aspect of it. Rosenkrantz very properly observed that as the feeling is one of dependence on God, that is on a Supreme Being, there is in it an element of strength which lifts man above the idea of mere dependence and makes him an active agent. Conduct, therefore, is to be regulated under divine sanctions, and religion, in the nature of the case, must modify the ethical standards of men in all the relations of life. Thus it happens that the ideas which men have of the Supreme Being find expression in two directions: in their systems of worship and the elaboration of a ceremonial service on the one hand, and in their moral standards controlling conduct and the ethical ideals toward which they strive on the other. But as soon as we speak of the ideas which men have of the Supreme Being, or their conception of God, we touch on a third element which has always had place in the development of religion, namely, the intellectual apprehension of God in so far as He

enters into human relations and reveals himself to the consciousness of men. Thus there are three aspects under which any form of religion presents itself to our contemplation, namely, the emotional, the intellectual and the practical or, in plainer terms, religion must be a matter of feeling, a matter of understanding, and a matter of conduct.

As all history is a process of differentiation and development it is not surprising that in different ages emphasis should be put now on one and now on the other of these factors. There have been ages of emotionalism, of orthodoxy, and of practical piety, and it is a pity, although perhaps natural, that when men lay special stress upon one of these factors, they should lose sight of the others. Undue emphasis of any aspect of life or doctrine is accompanied by danger, danger that other things will be slighted or overlooked. For this reason, in the transition from one mode of apprehension to another, sane, sober reflection is necessary to avoid those extremes which always prove hurtful to the legitimate interests of life.

The present age is undoubtedly an age of transition. In many religious denominations the forms of worship are changing. There is a wonderful shifting of opinion in the field of dogma. The question of personal and social ethics, the relation of the individual to the community is demanding an extraordinary degree of attention. But there is not only this change of attitude within the limits of each of these spheres; there is also, and this is profoundly significant, a change of view as to the relative importance of these different elements and a disposition to lay a different emphasis upon these various aspects of the Christian life. The burning question of ritualism, which a few years ago affected all religious denominations, is no longer a burning question excepting in some aspects of the controversy between high church and low church in the Episcopal communion. The tremendous upheaval of recent years in the sphere of dogmatic theology has undoubtedly had the effect of loosening the hold of orthodoxy upon the minds of perhaps a large majority of Christians.

The tendency unquestionably now is to lay stress upon the practical aspect of Christianity, to look away from faith and doctrine, and to find a bond of union in practical benevolence and the cultivation of ethical principles. Indeed, ethical questions have not only come into the foreground of daily discussion, but they have become the goal of striving even for many who profess no religious faith whatever. We have ethical culture societies, organizations and brotherhoods which relegate religion to the background, if not to the lumber-room, and boldly substitute ethics for religion as the all-sufficient remedy for the ills from which we suffer.

The change of emphasis to which we have referred might have been expected and it is, no doubt, to a certain extent justified. It is all-important, however, to observe that there is in genuine Christianity internal, vital connection between the three factors mentioned, and the sinking of any one of them out of sight necessarily vitiates the soundness of the system as a whole. Religion undoubtedly is, in its higher forms, the result of a process of evolution. So is Christianity; and it would be a condemnation of the whole system if worship were not purer and more elevating, doctrine larger, fuller and clearer and practical piety, both personal and social, of a higher order at the present day than at the beginning of the Christian church. But such a result is possible only by holding the elements together in their vital relation, each exerting its legitimate influence upon the other. The danger lies in cutting loose, in undervaluing one aspect as over against another, of substituting one for another. It is undoubtedly true that sometimes too much stress has been laid upon doctrine, and in these days we feel the full force of the reproach involved in the word *dogmatism* as derived from dogma or doctrine. We try to get rid of the rubbish which in the course of ages has accumulated in the form of antiquated doctrine. But it is a question as to how far such rubbish may be removed without removing at the same time elements of great value in the development of the Christian life. As valuable documents

are often thrown away and destroyed with rubbish, so aspects of doctrine may be forsaken on the supposition that they have no bearing upon practical Christianity when, in fact, they are of profound significance. The truth is that our ethical standards and our conception of God are closely related and interdependent. James M. Baldwin says, "The highest embodiment of the ethical ideal is the conception of the character of God. This does not give a statement of the ethical ideal, however, for the conception of God as a perfect Being is of a character which realizes our moral predicates to perfection and as such, shifts with our development and with that of the race. Instead of the end consisting in our conception of God's character, the reverse is true. God's character to us results from our conception of the moral nature." This is true in a certain sense only. Our conception of the character of God and our moral ideals are both the result of a process of development and we see the one in the light of the other. Christianity, in the nature of the case, implies the revelation of God to man, the consequent inspiration of man in his development to apprehend the character of God more fully and to perfect his ethical ideal. In proportion as he apprehends God more fully does his ethical ideal become higher, and in proportion as his ethical ideal becomes perfected he has a clearer conception of the character of God. Here then the two sides of the religious process come to view and the distinctive character of Christianity is emphasized in this, that the two come together in absolute union in the development of our human life, in the genial atmosphere of faith, and hope, and love. Ethical ideals are of profound significance and they, in the nature of the case, embody the ideals of individual and social life; but such principles may be cold and barren. To possess quickening power they must be pervaded by the spirit of the Master and glow with emotion as this is brought to view in its highest forms when Christ is born in the human soul.

Christianity, of course, is an objective order of existence and as such it had its historical beginning and its historical

development. For our purpose, however, we need to look at it from a different point of view. For individual men it becomes a reality by having its genesis in the human soul and its unfolding in the progressive development of the individual. It begins in the act of faith which is the eye of the soul, kissed into vitality by the entrance of the divine spirit. Now whatever other effects may follow, the condition of growth is found in stimulation of the will looking at once to the formation of character in harmony with the character of the great prototype of every normal healthy, human life. The object of faith may be vague at first. It becomes clearer and more definite in proportion as the mind of the Master comes to prevail in the mind of the believer. "If any man willeth to do His will he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." (St. John 7: 17.) Christianity, therefore, that spends itself in ecstasy of feeling comes to naught. Christianity that resolves itself into theology or into scientific apprehension of the truths involved in the economy of divine revelation becomes cold and lifeless. Normal growth is a matter of communion with God and it is possible only by the indwelling of the divine spirit with energy to mold and fashion human life in both its individual and social aspect. In proportion as much growth takes place will knowledge become clearer and emotion more devout, and each of these in turn will react upon the unfolding life to give it tone and character.

In the light of this relation it is not difficult to see the place and function of each of the three factors to which we have referred. It is quite in order to lay stress upon ethical development and to apply the principles of Christianity to the moral problems of the present day. Indeed if Christianity does not apply to these problems, if it cannot solve them, it has no claim upon men of the present age. If Christ came to save men, he came not to save them simply from everlasting torment, but he came to save them from sin and from spiritual death, and this salvation must be effected here and now in the progressive development of the Christian life. But this cannot be effected

by the preaching of ethical principles. It can come only by a regeneration of the whole man so that his attitude toward God in the form of worship and service may be sincere and rational, his apprehension of the historical development of the church and the world (including the two processes of divine revelation and human apprehension) may become more definite and complete, and his activity in all his relations, temporal and spiritual, become fully imbued by the spirit of Him in Whom he has believed and Whom he professes to serve.

J. S. Stahr.

THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT.

Twenty years ago the first Students' Conference held at Northfield originated what is now called the Student Volunteer Movement. Of the two hundred and fifty students who in July, 1886, met for conference on Mount Hermon, about one hundred declared themselves willing and ready to enter the foreign missionary service. Mr. Moody, it is reported, did not at first give his countenance to the movement, saying, "It is a great pity for young men to place themselves under a pledge to enter any form of Christian work before God calls them, and he never calls a man until he is ready." This proved to be a wise caution.

The declaration of the Volunteers, "It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary," is exposed to the criticism that it either means practically nothing or means too much. Theoretically every Christian who aspires to special service in the cause of the Kingdom ought to be ready to go anywhere—to the place where he is most needed. If he is not, he is hardly fit to work anywhere at all. If then the declaration means anything definite, it means that the subscriber feels himself specifically called to the work abroad in contrast with any form of work at home. Here lies the danger of presumption. The stubborn, unyielding purpose to go to the foreign field is not consonant with that susceptibility to divine guidance which must characterize the truly success-

ful missionary in any field. The man of God needs a will of just the right temper, neither inflexible nor yet uncertain.

On the back of the card which Volunteers are now asked to sign is a significant explanation, which shows how the leaders of the Movement have profited by experience: "This declaration is not to be interpreted as a 'pledge,' for it in no sense withdraws one from the subsequent guidance of the Holy Spirit. It is, however, more than an expression of mere willingness or desire to become a foreign missionary. It is the statement of a definite life purpose, formed under the direction of God. The person who signs this declaration fully purposes to spend his life as a foreign missionary. Toward this end he will shape his plans; he will devote his energies to prepare himself for this great work; he will do all in his power to remove the obstacles which may stand in the way of his going; and in due time he will apply to the Boards to be sent out. Only the clear leading of God shall prevent his going to the foreign field."

The leaders of the Movement are fully aware also of the danger of flaws in the purposes that are hastily formed in the heat of convention-enthusiasm. Accordingly they now discourage the taking of pledges in any public assembly.

The chief leader of the movement, Mr. Mott, is one of the greatest statesmen of the Kingdom in our age. The writer first learned to know him sixteen years ago in the Y. M. C. A. work among the students of Pennsylvania and later observed at close range what he did for the students of Japan on his two tours through that Empire. It is safe to say that no man now living has done more for the christianization of Japan than Mr. Mott. It is also safe to say that no one has done more than he to arouse the intelligent youth of America to a due appreciation of the unprecedented missionary opportunities and obligations that now confront us as a people. Let it be added that the praise for all this belongs to God, who has evidently called him and his associates to this work and honored their faith step by step.

We are not by nature fond of conventions; but no Christian man could look upon the multitude of students, of both sexes, gathered at Nashville a few weeks ago without a feeling of profound gratitude. Of more significance even than the admirable management of the convention was the evident seriousness of the delegates, who, one might see at a glance, represented the very flower of our American youth.

The great missionary problem is one not of means but of men. It is the fixed policy of some of the strongest missionary boards to give a commission to every promising candidate for the foreign work, experience having taught that when the right men and women are on the field there is never any lack of means to support them.

We see two reasons why Christian students should be encouraged to form a resolution like that expressed in the declaration of the Volunteers.

In the first place they need to do so for the sake of preparation. There is still a gulf between the work abroad and the work at home. It is true that there ought not to be any such distinction; but the fact is that the distinction persists in the minds of our people. The foreign boards are often criticised for limiting themselves to those candidates who voluntarily offer themselves. It would be much better, it is urged, to challenge the most suitable men that can be found, regardless of applications. Those who tender this advice need to be told that experience has shown that men do not respond to such challenges unless they have for some time been preparing themselves to enter the foreign service. Even if a man is personally inclined to respond, his relatives hold him back. Accordingly time must be allowed for preparation. Perhaps it ought not to be so, and perhaps we are becoming more cosmopolitan, so that the old instinctive dread of exile from native land is fast disappearing; but we have to deal with our present environment, and in this environment it takes years to develop in a young man or woman the spirit that makes the missionary. There is this much basis for the common as-

sumption that the foreign missionary is a person of superior consecration. It would, however, be fairer to say, a person of superior preparation, of wider outlook, of peculiar prophetic vision. For as a matter of fact genuine missionary work at home may require more severe self-denial than some kinds of foreign work.

The other reason why Christian students should volunteer is that the Church needs the influence of their example. The great missionary enterprise of our age is a new thing. At every step in advance some conservative father may be expected to say, "Young man, sit down!" It may be good for the young man to hear such advice once in a while; but at the same time it depends on him whether the advance shall be made or not. While it is often the case that the Lord calls His missionaries through His Church, it is oftener the case that He calls His Church through His missionaries. It is through the personal initiative of leaders like our Hoy and Schneder that our missions have been so rapidly developed. One has only to look over old reports of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance to see when and where those impulses had their origin. The young people of the rising generation have a similar work to do, a work which must be begun early in their lives.

It would not be wise to try to determine by rule what form the movement ought to take in any particular case. Individuals differ and so do institutions. Whether we have Volunteers in the technical sense or not, it is certain that for adequate leadership we must look to young men and women who can say: "I cheerfully devote my all to the cause. Come and help the work along!"

As the Student Volunteer Movement advances it is evidently becoming less and less emotional and more and more educational. In Mr. Mott's last report there is no more striking feature than the statement that during the last year 12,629 students were enrolled in classes for the systematic study of missions.

Further evidence of the good reflex influence of the work may be found in the statement: "Actual investigations show that in those colleges where the claims of foreign missions have been most successfully emphasized there has been the largest increase in the number of men deciding to enter the ministry."

If it were the rule that in every class of each of our educational institutions the most capable student should become a missionary to Japan or China, the gift would be none too good to devote to the cause, and, further, it would take nothing from our strength here, but rather add to it. "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth."

C. Noss.

X.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, THE REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH. By John B. Firth. Pages xii + 368. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 West Twenty-third St., 1905. Price $1.50.

The age of Constantine is an epoch in the history of the Church. In his reign the conflict of centuries between the empire and the Church ceased. The forces which were struggling for recognition, for toleration if not for supremacy, won the victory under the first so-called Christian emperor. The character of the Church was radically changed when it became the State Church. The imperial authority became a new factor in determining the doctrine and cultus of Christianity. It is generally recognized that the peace between the empire and the Church was not an unmixed gain. The world modified the Church far more than the Church transformed the world. It is on account of the transitional character of Constantine's reign that he will always be a most interesting study for students of Church history.

The author is not a blind eulogist of his hero. He tries, as he says in the preface, to write with impartiality. This is difficult because few men have been presented with so much partisan prejudice by the ancient writers as Constantine. He was exalted to the skies by the Christians, notably by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and he was denounced by historians of the heathen party. Posterity has surnamed him "the Great"; the Greek Church has designated him the "equal of the Apostles." After reading the critical treatment in this volume we are more than ever convinced that the author is right in his judgment that "his place in the select list of the immortals is not among the highest."

The leading topics, which are treated in a satisfactory way, are the reorganization of the empire begun by Diocletian and completed by Constantine, his gradual rise, by the defeat of his rivals, to sole rulership, the last days of the persecutions, which continued in the East after the toleration edict in 311, and, of special interest, the theological controversies, Arius and Athanasius, and the Nicene Council. The author has evidently read the sources and consulted the leading authorities, but he displays an independence of judgment, which he usually bases on cited facts and references, which makes the work all the more attractive for the student of history. He weighs Eusebius, Lactantius, and

Zosimus in the balances and is not afraid to differ from them when testimony demands it.

Though the narrative is comparatively brief, it is lively and fresh from beginning to end. The reader will lay down the book, after having read it, with a vivid picture of the Constantinian age in his mind. Twenty-seven illustrations of persons and places and a list of seventeen coins of that era enhance the value of the book. One way of getting history is through biography, probably the most interesting and effective way. The history of the world is the history of its great men. It is doubtless with this principle in mind that the series of the "Heroes of the Nations," of which this volume is one, has been prepared. The general public will be interested in these publications and through them may obtain an intelligent conception of the principal movements in the history of the Occident. The student will always be glad to refresh his memory and to become acquainted with the latest views of specialists through the medium of these popular works.

George W. Richards.

John Knox. By Henry Cowan, D.D., Professor of Church History, University of Aberdeen. Pages xxxiii + 404. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price $1.35 net.

This volume is one of the series of the "Heroes of the Reformation." John Knox could not well be omitted from the galaxy of leading Reformers among whom are Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Calvin and Beza. Separate volumes have been prepared on these men by specialists, and the latest conclusions of historical scholarship are presented in a critical and yet readable style. Dr. Cowan has done justice to his hero in presenting the salient events in his life and in showing his close relation to the theological and national movements not only of Scotland but of Europe. Almost from its beginning Knox was a factor in the Scottish Reformation, and he remained its dominant personality until his death. His captivity in the French galleys, his temporary residence in England, his work in Frankfort and Geneva, his return to Scotland and his inflexible attitude for reform before the Queen and the nobles are sketched with color and feeling and make fascinating reading. The readers of the Review will be particularly interested in tracing the relation between the reform in Scotland and that on the Continent. After Knox and five associates had drawn up the Book of Discipline, 1560, it was submitted, in Latin translation, to Calvin, Beza, Bullinger and other Swiss Reformers, prior to its being laid before the Privy Council in January, 1561. It is stated that "Knox was influenced by the

first Helvetic Confession which George Wishart translated and brought back with him to Scotland." The second Helvetic Confession also was sent by Beza from Geneva to Knox, who, with forty other ministers and professors, examined and approved it as "resting altogether upon the Holy Scriptures." It is interesting to note, however, that they entered one exception to this Confession. They were not willing to recognize "the festivals of our Lord's Nativity, Circumcision, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Sending of the Holy Ghost. These festivals obtain no place among us: for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast day than what the divine oracles have prescribed." This statement points to a difference between the Swiss and Scotch in regard to the Church year, which became still more apparent in their respective descendants in the United States.

The author does not profess to give an exhaustive treatment of the life of Knox. For that he refers the reader to the more extensive works of Dr. McCrie, Professor Hume Brown, and Dr. David Laing. He aims "in the limited space at his disposal, to describe those portions of the career of Knox which are most likely to be of general interest; to place his life-work in its historical setting; to facilitate for students the consultation of original authorities; and to present a picture of the Reformer which, without concealing his infirmities, would help to vindicate his right to enrolment alike among the foremost heroes of the Reformation, and among the greatest and noblest of Scotsmen." The table of contents and the index are a valuable aid for reference. The list of books referred to in this work, alphabetically arranged, and the numerous footnotes furnish an almost complete bibliography. The reader who seeks simply a general knowledge of the Reformer will find this probably the most satisfactory work yet published, and the specialist who desires to go behind the statements of the author will find references enough to introduce him into the manifold sources from which the biography must be written. This volume, with the others of the series, should be found on the shelves of every preacher's library.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

THE ENGLAND AND HOLLAND OF THE PILGRIMS. By the late Henry Martin Dexter, D.D., LL.D., and his son, Morton Dexter. Pages 673. Boston, Mass., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905. Price $3.50 net.

The religious movements in Great Britain and on the Continent, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, were reflected in the American churches. To understand the Church history of the New World it is necessary to study the sources in the Old. Authors of the histories of the denominations in the

United States have devoted too little space to this phase of the subject, and have not kept in view the organic relation between the growth of the churches in this country and of those across the sea.

Dr. Briggs wrote his volume on American Presbyterianism, 1885, with this plan in view. He treats religious movements in America in their relation to contemporary movements in Europe. Another work of this sort was published in two volumes by Douglass Campbell, entitled, "The Puritans in Holland, England and America," 1892, in which he seeks to prove the thesis that the characteristic institutions, established by the Puritans in New England, were derived, directly or indirectly, not from England, but from Holland.

Probably no portion of American Church History has been more carefully studied and more extensively written upon than that of New England; yet a volume such as has been prepared by Dr. Dexter, on The England and Holland of the Pilgrims, fills a gap in the history of the Puritan and Congregational movement.

Dr. Henry M. Dexter is an authority on New England church history, particularly on the history of the Congregationalists. He collected one of the largest libraries of Congregational literature in this country. It is now in the possession of Yale University. He wrote a book, entitled, The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, which will remain a classic on that subject. Another valuable publication from his pen is a Hand-book of Congregationalism. He spent the latter portion of his life in researches in England and Holland for the work which is now before us. But after he had written, in a rough draught, the first five chapters, and a part of the sixth, he died. The manuscript and the collected material passed into the hands of Professor Frank B. Dexter, of Yale University. His son, Morton Dexter, later added considerable material, obtained by his own research, revised the work of his father, and gave the book its present form.

The volume is a model of the printer's art, and its form is worthy of the contents which it presents. The material is divided into six books which treat the following topics: The English of Our Fathers; The Protestantism of Our Fathers; The Birthplace of the Pilgrim Church; The Pilgrims Themselves, and How the Conflict Developed them; The Pilgrims in Amsterdam; The Pilgrims in Leyden.

Valuable material is preserved in an appendix of fifty pages, which has been gathered by the personal researches of the editor in a seven months' sojourn in Europe. A list of the persons who

belonged to the Pilgrim Company in Leyden, with data from their lives, is given. The names are alphabetically arranged and cover forty pages. Another list is entitled, Other English People in Leyden, consisting of seven pages. The places in England from which the Pilgrims migrated to Holland are tabulated; and the names of the thirty-five persons who came over in 1620 in the Mayflower, with those who followed in 1621 and 1623, conclude the Appendix.

An index of sources exhibits the works that have been used in the preparation of the volume, and a general index refers to subjects, persons and places. The footnotes, which are found on nearly every page, prove the original character of the work done by the authors and, at the same time, throw light on the narrative. The arrangement of the material and the style of composition are admirable and show the hand of a master.

It is not our purpose to criticize the contents. We should not consider ourselves able to dispute the positions taken by the author. We simply desire to express our appreciation of the excellencies of the work.

In the first two books, the general condition—social, intellectual and moral—of England in the fifteenth century, is described. In discussing Protestantism, the author limits himself to that portion which leads up to the Pilgrims. His object is "to determine the relation of the Pilgrim to that ethical and ecclesiastical past which was behind them and of which they were the logical and theological outgrowth. To do this it is mainly needful to note the progress of religious thought in England and the Low Countries." The treatment of the origin of the Pilgrim Church in Scrooby, and the conflicts through which the Pilgrims passed in England, is worthy of special commendation. Each page contains new material, and the conclusions of the author are evidently based on a knowledge of the sources. Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is that which treats of the Pilgrims in Amsterdam and in Leyden; their relation to the Church of Holland, to the Baptists and the Arminians, and their final determination to seek refuge in America. All these questions are discussed in detail and with numerous quotations from sources old and new.

American historians, who are acquainted with the works of Dr. Dexter, will not need to be urged to procure this volume. Those who are interested in the study of Church history in this country cannot do without it. It ought to have a place in every library. It should be studied by the ministers of all churches and by the intelligent laymen. It is one of the few works that will stand the test of time and will be consulted many years after its publication.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

THE PROGRESS OF HELLENISM IN ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE. By John Pentland Mahaffy, C.V.O., D.D., D.C.L. (sometime Professor of Ancient History in the University of Dublin). Pages 149. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ills., 1905. Price $1.00 net.

One of the interesting problems in the history of the early Church is the influence of Greek thought, religion, and life on the development of Christianity. This comparatively small volume throws light on that question. It contains a series of six lectures, which were delivered in the University of Chicago. In the Preface the author defines his purpose to be the giving of an accurate survey of Greek culture and of its spread over the East. The various elements in the environment of early Christianity are traced in a strictly historical manner. Such a compendium would have little value if written by a novice, who simply made extracts from larger books on the subject; but when it comes from the hand of Dr. Mahaffy, toward the close of his literary life rather than at its beginning, the work will command the respect even of specialists. The author has written more than one-half dozen volumes in Greek subjects, and prepared himself in this way for this course of lectures. The following topics are discussed: Xenophon, the Precursor of Hellenism; Macedonia and Greece; Egypt; Syria; General Reflections on Hellenism; Hellenistic Influences on Christianity.

The evidences of Greek culture are shown in the literature, the art, the social and mercantile life of the Orient. With his extensive knowledge of the sources, the writer is able to distinguish Grecian from native elements by apt illustrations and a citation of salient characteristics. In the concluding lecture he shows how the Hellenistic elements have been introduced into the Christian system. For example he says: "I contend, therefore, that the peculiar modernness, the high intellectual standard of Christianity, as we find it in the New Testament, is caused by its contact with Greek culture. It would be strange indeed if such contact had not shown itself in the form of Christian Doctrines, in Christian ways of approaching the great mysteries of life. Is it likely that the Christian teachers could adopt the tongue and the dialectic of Plato and not agree with him in the great intellectual and moral struggle against false views of the world and false theories of conduct? Is it likely that the Christian system would not profit by the Attic Moses as well as by the Hebrew law-giver?"

He not only finds Greek influence in speculative theology, but also in moral ideals. He finds a close correspondence between the stoic ethics and that of Paul. If the latter did not adopt his moral principles from the stoics, we must concede that the truth

was revealed to the Greeks independently of the teaching of St. Paul. He claims that the mysteries, celebrated yearly in the different parts of Greece and later throughout the empire, not only had a benign effect upon Greek life but helped to mold the forms of Christian worship.

The author is careful in his statements and in our judgment does not, as some writers are inclined to do at present, overdraw the relation between Hellenism and Christianity. Those who will read the book will find it stimulating, and will doubtless have a desire to make a more extended study of this subject.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL, 1780–1905. The Official Report of the Eleventh International Sunday-school Convention, Toronto, Canada, June 23–27, 1905. Pages 712. Boston, Mass., published by The Executive Committee of the International Sunday-school Association, 1905. Price $1.00.

This volume is more than a report of the proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Sunday-school Convention. It contains a history of the Sunday-school from 1780, the time of its origin under Robert Raikes, to 1905, the meeting of the Convention at Toronto. In the historical section, covering 113 pages, three parts are discussed: Part I.: The Sunday-school, in which part there are four articles on the following topics: Robert Raikes, and The Eighteenth Century, by George R. Merril, D.D.; The Nineteenth Century Sunday-school, by Charles Trumbull; Organized Primary Work, by Mrs. J. W. Barnes; and From Our Muster Roll of Heroes, by Henry C. McCook.

Part II.: The Genesis of the International Sunday-school Lesson, by Professor H. M. Hamill; The Lesson Committee at Work, by John Potts; A List of the International Lessons, 1872–1906; The Beginner's Course, by Mrs. J. W. Barnes; Advanced Course of Lessons, by Professor John R. Sampey; Another Lesson Course of the Period.

Part III.: The Sunday-School Conventions, by W. C. Pierce; The First Sunday-Schools Organized in North America; The Best Spelling Book on Earth; National and International Conventions, by M. C. Hazard; Progress and Prophecy, by C. R. Blackall; From Milan to Jerusalem, by Edward K. Warren.

From this outline the reader will at once see that the historical portion of the book is of special value. It is prepared by specialists on the subjects treated and presents a summary of the modern Sunday-School movement.

In divisions II. and III. we have a report of the addresses delivered before the convention. The general topics which were discussed by representative men from Canada, the United States, and other sections of the globe, are the following: Some Relationships of the Sunday-School; The Relation of the Sunday-School to Education; The Relation of the Sunday-School to Evangelism; The Relation of the Sunday-School to Missions; The Relation of the Sunday-School to Denominational Work; Organization and Methods.

A report is given also of the Afternoon Conferences which were held in the different churches of the city. A series of tables and appendices are found at the close of the volume, containing Sunday-School statistics relating to the Sunday-Schools of the world. A list of delegates is given and the official program is printed in full. An extended index will enable the reader to refer readily to the material presented on nearly every phase of Sunday-School work.

Cuts of the men who had part in the program, as well as of the members of the Lesson Committee since 1872, add interest to the book. Instructive scenes of Palestine and Bible lands are also presented. It is one of the most valuable reports that has yet been published in this series. We commend it to all Sunday-School workers.

George W. Richards.

The Corrected English New Testament. A Revision of the Authorized Version (by Nestle's Resultant Text). Prepared with the assistance of eminent scholars, and issued by Samuel Lloyd, with Preface by the Bishop of Durham. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905. Price $1.50.

"The Corrected English New Testament" (with Preface by the Bishop of Durham) will be published shortly in London by S. Bagster & Sons, Limited, and in New York by G. P. Putnam's Sons. This work has been undertaken in the belief that it is possible to present a close translation of the Scriptures in English thoroughly readable and everywhere intelligible, and that a rendering, which as the Bishop of Durham says of this Version, "aims to preserve to the utmost the noble general form of the Authorized Version," is likely to prove more acceptable to the majority of English readers than a professedly modernized translation can be. The promoter is Mr. Samuel Lloyd, of Birmingham, who is a Life Governor of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and he has dedicated the work as a memorial of the Society's Centenary. By carefully avoiding the Graecisms and the faulty English constructions which, here and there, mar the beauty and detract from the clearness both of the Authorized

and of the Revised Versions, the translators have endeavored to produce a version essentially English. The work has been edited by literary experts in constant consultation with competent students of the Greek text, and no rendering has been adopted which is not supported by the highest authorities. Many eminent scholars have contributed advice and assistance as the result of a private circulation of two tentative editions. Among those by whom asistance was given at different stages of the work were the Rev. Canon Girdlestone, M.A., Dr. Rendel Harris, the Rev. E. Hampden-Cook (editor of Dr. Weymouth's "New Testament in Modern Speech"), the Rev. A. H. T. Clarke, the Rev. E. P. Boys Smith, and other well-known scholars.

During the final revision the English editors have worked in consultation with the Rev. E. E. Cunnington, M.A., of Llangarron, Herefordshire, who, besides being well qualified as a translator, has made a special study of English. In this revision, every passage has been carefully reconsidered, or, when necessary, rewritten, in order to ensure the text being, as far as possible, thoroughly intelligible to every reader. But no alteration of the English, however small, has been made without renewed reference to the Greek.

The text followed is that of Dr. Eberhard Nestle's Greek Testament, the fourth edition of which, as one of the Centenary publications of the Bible Society, has been everywhere welcomed by Bible students.

"The Corrected English New Testament" is the first complete translation into English from this valuable text—a resultant of the recensions of Tischendorf, Wescott & Hort, and Weiss. It is believed that the special attention given to the English of this version will give the reader a clearer view of the meaning, and a higher appreciation of the literary qualities of the original. The work is designed to point the way to methods of revision which may be the means of popularizing the study of the Bible not only among religious readers, but among those who find little attractiveness in the current versions. The Bishop of Durham (in the Preface) speaks of this version as showing a consciousness of the importance of good construing, while the translators "on the other hand have never forgotten that to construe is not always to translate." After commenting on the lack of "English felicity" in the Revised Version, the Bishop adds, "That defect the 'Corrected English New Testament,' in countless instances, appears to me to remedy."

Marginal references (many of them original) are given, and the aims and methods of the revision are fully explained in the Introduction.

LUTHER'S CHURCH POSTIL GOSPELS: Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany Sermons, Vol. I.; and Gospels: Thirteenth to Twenty-sixth Sunday after Trinity, Vol. V. Translated for the first time into English, with Introduction, Walch's Analyses and Bugenhagen's "Summaries." By Professor John Nicholas Lenker, D.D. Pages 455 and pages 395, duodecimo, cloth. Minneapolis, Minn., Lutherans in All Lands Co. Price $2.25 per volume.

We have called attention in the REVIEW, July, 1905, to the series of "The Precious and Sacred Writings of Martin Luther," translated by Professor Lenker into English. These two volumes of Gospel sermons belong to the series and like Vol. IV. reflect credit upon the translator, increase interest in the preaching of the hero of the Reformation, and convince the reader of the greatness of the service the publisher is rendering the English-speaking world. Volume I. is dedicated to the memory of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, who was the first to carry the Gospel from Europe back to Asia, sailing from Copenhagen, Denmark, November 29, 1705, and landing at Tranquebar, India, July 9, 1706. It is evident from this fact that the beginning of the modern missionary movement is not found in England at the close of the eighteenth century, but is traceable to the continent in the opening of the eighteenth century—a fact so often overlooked by American students of foreign missions. Volume V. contains in the introduction a number of tributes of scholars to Luther's writings. These admirers of the Saxon reformer are found in every generation since his death, among all denominations in all lands. Luther does not belong to a class nor a branch in protestantism. He belongs to evangelical Christianity. In the appendix are a series of comparative statistics on Teutonic and Latin Culture, President Roosevelt's Speech on the Lutheran Church, delivered at the re-dedication exercises in the Luther Place Memorial Church, Washington, D. C., on Sunday, January 29, 1905, and Ecumenical Lutheran Statistics, 1905. These are valuable additions to the book and will be useful for reference to the student of general and Lutheran Church history.

We need not enter into a discussion of the merits of the sermons themselves. That would be presumptuous. They are recognized classics and should at least be tasted by every English preacher. The translation, with its clear-cut Anglo-Saxon words and direct sentences, brings out the lucidity and the vigor of the original. It is natural that the publisher is an enthusiastic admirer of Luther, and one feels in reading prefaces and notes that he is in danger of magnifying the Reformer, if not beyond his deserts, at least beyond his own desires. To his credit we recall his words on this point. "Wie käme denn ich armer,

stinkender Madensack dazu, dass Man die Kinder Christi sollt mit meinem heillosen Namen nennen?" His modesty some of his followers do not emulate.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

JESUS CHRIST AND THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER. By Francis Greenwood Peabody, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University. Pages 304. New York, The Macmillan Company. Price $1.50 net.

Several years ago, in 1900, the author of this book published "Jesus Christ and the Social Question." In the volume before us the discussion does not turn immediately upon the social question, it turns on the deeper theme of character, which, of course, has a fundamental relation to all the problems that are usually brought before us under the head of the social question. In the introductory chapter the author discusses the condition of the modern world and the tendencies of thought and activity in the present age. Among the many questions which come up for discussion to-day the social question is easily the most prominent. In the same way, within the borders of the Christian Church, the predominating interest to-day is not doctrine, but practice. Stress is laid upon life and character, and Christianity must stand or fall with the fruits which it bears in the latter aspect. If character, then, is fundamental, and Christianity is to be measured by its influence upon character, it becomes of supreme importance to inquire first of all into the character of Jesus Christ Himself, the Founder of Christianity and the Source of all the inspiration and power and life that are involved in Christianity.

Starting, in the second chapter, with the statement that the Christian character is the consequence of the imitation of Christ, the author goes on to say what imitation means. "A rational imitation of Christ is not the conduct of a mimic or a puppet. It means what the imitation of other characters means,—an influence of leadership, power, authority and example applied to the conditions of one's own life. The traits in him which command appreciation are applied, not to suppress one's own character, but to enrich and ennoble it. Jesus comes not to destroy, but to fulfil. If any man will come after him, let him take up his own burden, his own cross, his own experience and follow." Perhaps this statement is a little vague. We take it that the influence of Christ in the molding of character means more than mere leadership, power, authority and example on the part of Christ as these things would come from any great man. Here, no doubt, the crucial question of faith and the inner working of the Holy Spirit should come to view. But we follow the author's argument and implicitly accept his statement that the influence

of Christ again proceeds only from his own personality, and that it is, therefore, of prime importance that we should have a true conception of the character of Christ in order to see the source of His influence and power. The second chapter, then, is devoted to a study of the character of Christ as drawn from the gospels, and it is put before us with consummate skill. The lines are delicately drawn and the picture stands out in all the grace and beauty and strength of a perfect personality. The fundamental characteristic is that of power and authority. This expresses itself first in the way of sympathy and self-impartation and then again in the way of isolation and reserve, or in what the author calls "spiritual solitude." "The crowd presses round Him and He serves them gladly and then it seems as if His nature demanded solitude for the refreshment of His faith. The tide of the Spirit ebbs from Him in the throng, and when He goes apart He is least alone because the Father is with Him. Then from utterance to silence, from giving to receiving, from society to solitude the rhythm of His nature moves; and the power which is spent in service is renewed in isolation. He is able to bear the crosses of others because He bears His own. He can be of use to man because he can do without man. He is ethically effective because He is spiritually free. He is able to save because He is able to suffer. His sympathy and solitude are both alike the instruments of His strength."

In the third chapter the author discusses the roots of the Christan character, that is the beginning of the spiritual life in man, the sources from which this development proceeds. To find these we must turn to the teaching of Jesus Christ, and in doing this two errors are to be avoided, namely, the error of the casuist who turns to the gospel to find ethical prescriptions applicable to specific ills, and that of the dogmatist who goes to the gospels to find a body of doctrine, and looks upon the Christian character as a consequence of the Christian creed. But, what was it that commended itself especially to the mind of Jesus? Upon what did He lay the seal of His approval, and what did He condemn as hurtful to the development of the Christian life? Christian character is a growth. You have first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. The starting point in this process of growth, according to the author, is the principle of teachableness or humility. The greatest obstacle is a self-satisfied righteousness like that of the scribes and Pharisees. The two things necessary, then, are, first, humility and, secondly, self-respect. The spiritual life begins neither in the reason nor in the emotions, but in the will. The first step toward safety is in the decision to proceed. The first question asked is: On which side?

No man can serve two masters. Neutrality is iniquity. The first step being taken, the second follows. "After obedience comes insight. First decision, then precision. First the following of Jesus, and later the understanding of Him,—such is the sequence of Christian experience."

In the fourth chapter the growth of Christian character is described. Beginning, as all life does, in a germ there is a gradual unfolding of the Christian character until it stands before us as to reveal its essential attributes. These attributes are expressed by three words the meaning of which is put before us with graphic power. The first is Righteousness, representing especially the prevailing tone of ethical teaching in the first three gospels; the second is Love which enters like a new *motif* into the music of life and recalls the more intimate utterances of Jesus Himself; the third is Life which is the peculiar characteristic of the fourth gospel. The combination of these three characteristics produces that sense of power and authority which was especially noticeable in the life of Jesus Christ Himself, and makes itself felt in every human personality that is fully pervaded by the spirit of the Master.

In the fifth and sixth chapters the personal and social consequences of the Christian character are brought under discussion, and it is here especially that the saneness and practical aspect of Christianity as a power in the transformation of the world come to view. The principles which underlie the Christian life in this manifestation involve something of a paradox, namely, self-realization through self-surrender, or the finding of life through the losing of it. The Greek ideal of a harmonious and symmetrical nature sets before us the law of self-realization. On the other hand, we are taught that self-denial and sacrifice are the means by which the ideals of life can be realized. The author insists that these different aspects of life must be combined and that self-realization, in the strict sense of the word, is possible only through a life of service and self-sacrifice.

The last two chapters are on the Ascent of Ethics and the Descent of Faith. Morality, if it begins in the true spirit, must lead up to faith. Progress in morality is, "as though one's way led over a series of stepping-stones each of which was firm, but beneath it ran an unexplored and mysterious stream. Beneath the question of Ethics often, when these are answered, run deeper questions of religion, showing every source which lies back of ethics and flowing to an end which is beyond ethics." On the other hand, religion, a life on the heights in fellowship with God, a life of faith, must, in the nature of the case, lead downward into all the avenues of our human life and become active in the

world as a power that makes for righteousness. "Ethics remains tentative and preliminary until it fulfils itself in faith. Religion remains empty and abstract until it dedicates itself to service. The test of religion is neither the height it gains nor the view it surveys, but the strength with which it descends. There is no Christian religion which is not an applied religion. The sanctified life is the serviceable life and in that service finds its freedom."

This outline of the author's argument gives but a faint idea of the richness of the volume. The style is charming, the treatment clear and logical, and the whole presentation of the subject is both eloquent and beautiful. The book may be safely recommended to all who have any interest in ethics or religion.

JOHN S. STAHR.

ESSAYS IN PURITANISM. By Andrew Macphail. Pages 340. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co. Price $1.50 net.

"The five essays contained in this book were read before a company of artists who had the traditional antipathy of their class toward the spirit of Puritanism." So says the author in his prefatory note. The subjects of the essays are Jonathan Edwards, John Winthrop, Margaret Fuller, Walt Whitman, John Wesley. The essays themselves are of unequal merit, due, no doubt, to the varying degrees of ability on the part of the author to enter into the spirit of his subject. They all contain a good deal of interesting matter and some points in the life and character of the subjects are brought out with striking force. One cannot read what the author has to say of Margaret Fuller or Walt Whitman or John Wesley without getting a deeper insight into their aspirations and the work which they accomplished or attempted to accomplish in the world. Sometimes the touches seem light and trifling; then again there is a streak of humor or satire; there are not wanting strong graphic pictures of the times and the conditions in which the lot of these characters was cast. The strength and the weakness, especially of Margaret Fuller and Walt Whitman are well set forth and the author's judgment in these cases may be considered fair and just. The sketch of John Wesley is even more appreciative and it will no doubt be read with interest.

The least satisfactory portion of the book is found in the first two essays, on Jonathan Edwards and John Winthrop. The latter, indeed, receives a great deal of credit, and the author evidently has great admiration for his character and ability. Indeed there is not wanting, here, an overestimation of Winthrop's influence as if it molded the whole history of the United States

and gave tone and character to the government established by and for the country after the Revolutionary War. For instance, the author seems to take for granted that Winthrop's separation of the magistrates and deputies into two houses in the government of the Massachusetts Colony, in 1644, was the foundation of the government of the United States. We think there are other ways of accounting for the bicameral system of the United States. The great defect in both essays is the inability of the author to see the seriousness of the problem with which the men of those days had to deal. He sees very well that they took it seriously, but for him religion is not a serious problem. He does not, indeed, wave religion aside altogether, but the aspect of religion which confronted theology in the struggles of those days, does not appeal to him. In a light, flippant tone he discourses upon their attitude. He can see the somber quality of the religion and the stern, harsh influence of the theology of Jonathan Edwards; but there is no evidence that he appreciates the greatness and intellectual ability and the far reaching influence of Jonathan Edwards, or, for that matter, of John Winthrop, except as the latter shows wisdom and moderation and gentleness in spite of the tenets of his faith. It is easy to see and to criticise these features of the system of Jonathan Edwards because there is room for criticism, but surely there is another side to the subject; and there ought to be something better to say of the man who stands out as one of the greatest minds this country has produced, and who wielded so tremendous an influence in molding the character of the sons of New England. It is not necessary to accept the stern tenets of this faith, and there is, no doubt, a revolt from the extreme positions to which the theology of Jonathan Edwards led him; but to do justice to the man and to his theological systems, it is necessary to bear in mind the point of view from which the subject was approach at that time. The sovereignity of God is of profound significance and the relation between it and the human will, as every student of church history knows, is one which the human mind, believing in God and having a keen sense of justice and the difference between love and wrath, between sin and righteousness, cannot lightly wave aside. Of all this the author seems to have no conception and, of course, his estimate of the character of his subjects is so far forth defective. JOHN S. STAHR.

MY LITTLE BOOK OF PRAYER. By Meuriel Strode. Pages 78. Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Company.

This is a dainty little volume, but we should hardly call it a book of prayer. It is rather a series of short meditations sometimes in the form of a prayer or wish, sometimes in the form of a

categorical statement. The dominant note is that of self-sufficiency and confidence in one's own powers in the experience of joy and sorrow, and all the vicissitudes of life, which, to our mind, is not exactly the attitude of prayer. There is, however, a good deal of philosophy in some of the meditations, and, as this is the second edition, the book must have attracted some attention.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE NUMERICAL STRUCTURE OF SCRIPTURE. By F. W. Grant. Pages 155. New York, Loizeaux Brothers, 63 Fourth Ave. Price 75 cents, bound.

The purport of the argument contained in this book is manifest in the sub-title: "A seal upon its perfect inspiration, and a divinely given help to its right interpretation." It consists of a series of lectures in which the author not only tries to explain the symbolism of the numbers of the Bible, but also to show that the whole basis of scripture, the order and arrangement of the various books, and the interpretation of its message are to be found in the numerical plan which, by divine inspiration, is unfolded in it. A great deal of ingenuity is exercised in making all the parts of the plan fit together, so that one cannot help thinking of Ignatius Donelly's "discovery" of the cryptograms in Shakspere which are supposed to prove the Baconian authorship of great English dramas. The process, however, appears exceedingly mechanical, and runs counter to all modern theories of inspiration.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE FREEDOM OF AUTHORITY: Essays in Apologetics. By J. Macbride Sterrett, D.D., the Head Professor of Philosophy in the George Washington University. Pages 319. New York, Macmillan Company, 1905. Price $2.00.

Professor Sterrett has previously distinguished himself by his expositions of "Hegel's Philosophy of Religion" and the "Ethics of Hegel." He stands for the authority of the Church as historically developed, and specifically, for the standards set forth in the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

The larger part, two-thirds, of this, his latest book, is composed of four new essays entitled "The Freedom of Authority," "Sabatier and Harnack," "Loisy," and "The Historical Method." There are four other briefer essays which are mainly reproductions of previously published articles.

The text of the first essay is Emerson's dictum: "Whoso would be a man must be a noncomformist." In reply the author well says: "Noncomformity is often the highest type of moral and

religious conformity." He develops fully the familiar thought that the highest freedom can be attained only through submission to the highest authority. The negative element of dissent and protest is interpreted in typical Hegelian style as being not an alien force but an immanent movement of life, a necessary step from a lower to a higher stage of thought.

There follows a keen criticism of Sabatier's Religion of the Spirit and Harnack's Essence of Christianity, which systems are in the author's view fittingly characterized by the words, "immediacy, pectoralism, subjectivity." When Harnack declares that Roman Catholicism has nothing to do with the Gospel he shows the lack of the historical spirit: "The greatest historical institution of the world is not significant of God in history." This is fierce and telling criticism. The author goes so far as to say: "The subjective religion that Jesus had was not Christianity. Historically his personal religion was the Jewish religion." He says at another place: "I mean by religion, not the subjective feeling in the heart, but an objective, historical, concrete form of human activity." It appears from all this that Professor Sterrett is so anxious to stand up straight that he leans over backward. His view of religion is no less one-sided than that which he attributes to Sabatier and Harnack. Finally he repudiates what he calls their Neo-Kantian agnosticism. "We must either simply live the Christian life and abstain from any attempt at intellectual justification of it, or we must transcend the agnosticism that makes any such justification impossible. Sabatier and Harnack have done neither." This is the best chapter in the book.

The next chapter reviews the untranslated work of Abbe Loisy on the Gospel and the Church, a polemic directed against Protestantism as represented, or misrepresented, by Sabatier and Harnack. In general Loisy stands for Newman's theory of development. In regard to the facts of the life of Jesus and the history of the early Church his criticism is no less destructive than that of Sabatier and Harnack. For him Christianity is the presence of Christ in the historical Church. His appeal is to the communal faith rather than to that of the individual. Naturally Professor Sterrett sympathizes with Loisy in this contention. But he has reason to feel suspicious of the thesis that the mind of the Church is the mind of Christ, which uncomfortably reminds him of Feuerbach's theory of religion as the self-deification of man. "Religion," he justly says, "cannot thrive on a known fable, however pious it may be." On one point our author, perhaps unconsciously, agrees with the Ritschlians. He

mistrusts mysticism: "I find that Christian mysticism is not a merely subjective product, but that, historically, it has always been born and nurtured within the folds of the Church—Roman or other." "It is like the pearl that is no part of a healthy oyster."

The chapter on the historical method is an insistent polemic against the false metaphysics of naturalism, with reference especially to the reality and supremacy of final causes. The unspiritual, mechanical, theory of historical development which "has escorted the Creator to the extreme frontier of the universe, with many expressions of consideration, and returned without Him" is shown to be the cause of the lack of interest and confidence in the results of history. "The enthusiasm for the historical method is primarily optimistic."

The reprinted essays do not add materially to the strength of the book. That on the "Ethics of Creed Conformity" is vague and unsatisfying. In the last chapter on the "Ultimate Ground of Authority" the reader is confronted once more with that superlatively audacious Hegelian theory of the Trinity.

Professor Sterrett writes with enthusiastic abandon and Carlylean disregard of the stereotyped forms of speech. For such a word as "reification" there is place in theological terminology. But such expressions as "disconscious themselves" and "outer itself" are too disconcerting to be useful. At times plays on words are too much in evidence. There are wearisome reiterations in certain parts that make the book hard to read. But on other pages there are brilliant discussions and suggestions that abundantly reward the patient reader.

The general message of the book, which is very much like that of Schaff's "Principle of Protestantism," is highly appreciated by the Reformed Church. But Ritschlianism too has a valid message. We must learn to do justice to the psychological aspect of religion and so get a criterion for distinguishing what is abnormal from what is normal in the development of dogma, that is, for a scientific delimitation of the authority of the Church. It will not do to trace the objective development and then in a supplementary, incidental, way discuss the "psychological forms of religion" as Professor Sterrett does. Such a system of thought is implicit Romanism. Professing to exalt the dogma by declaring its absolute authority it really denies its significance by sundering it from vital piety.

Minor typographical errors abound. In this respect the volume is not quite worthy of the publishers whose imprint it bears.

CHRISTOPHER NOSS.

THE PROPHETS AND THE PROMISE, being for substance the Lectures for 1902–1903 on the L. P. Stone Foundation in the Princeton Theological Seminary. By Rev. Willis Judson Beecher, D.D., Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature in the Theological Seminary of Auburn in the State of New York. New York, Thomas V. Crowell and Company, Publishers. Price $2.00 net.

This is a new work on an old theme,—a theme, however, of which we never weary. The prophets of Israel are the glory of their nation. The longer we view them in their true character and the more closely we study the writings they have left us, the more we admire the grand rôle they played in the history of religion, the hope they cherished and the promise they gave of a future Messiah, and their unceasing labors to prepare the way for the realization of this hope and the fulfillment of the promise in the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is not surprising that, throughout the Christian centuries, they have been studied with increasing interest, and never more so than to-day. We might think that all that could be known of them is already known. Yet with the progress of biblical science new points of view appear and new questions arise. In this field, so long and so diligently cultivated, we may well believe there is yet much truth to be gleaned.

With this hope Dr. Beecher has set himself the task of studying the prophets anew. Standing as he does among the ablest and best-known biblical scholars of America, he is well qualified by his learning, his reverent spirit and his many years of labor spent in searching the Scriptures for the work he has taken in hand. A mere glance into his book shows that he is an earnest seeker after truth and a careful, painstaking workman. This naturally awakens great expectations which are strengthened when we read the preliminary chapter. He expresses himself as dissatisfied both with the older and with the newer treatments of the prophets. He is neither an unyielding conservative unwilling to make any concessions that conflict with untenable traditions, nor yet a radical critic who would reconstruct the Old Testament according to his subjective fancies. Statements of fact, he justly says, "are to be provisionally accepted unless there are substantial reasons for not accepting them." It is necessary, however, he tells us, to ascertain the true meaning of such statements in the form in which they have come down to us, as preliminary to testing the truth of them, and either accepting or rejecting them. We must come to an Old Testament passage with the question: "What did this mean to an intelligent, devout, uninspired Israelite of the time to which it belongs?" One may not make a doctrine of inspiration, he further says, a presupposition

to the historical study of the prophets, nor can one be justified in an undiscriminating rejection of the statements concerning them. Waiving all questions of inspiration, we should "treat our sources merely as literature that has come down to us from a remote past"; and if statements of fact are contradictory, or contrary to known truth, they may not be accepted.

These principles of historical interpretation every modern critic adopts; and if they are rightly applied, they should lead biblical inquirers to practically the same results.

But much to our surprise and disappointment, we have here the old traditional view of the prophets with some modifications that do not seriously affect the truth. This the author candidly admits. He tells us in his preface that his presentation of the subject "is essentially a restatement of the Christian tradition that was supreme fifty years ago," though in Dr. Beecher's eyes, the differences between the older view and the new view he presents are "so numerous and important, that it will probably be regarded by men who do not think things through, as an attack on that tradition."

Of course the author does not hold the belief of earlier generations, which is still popularly very common, that "the prophets were mere givers of oracles and predicters of the future." "A prophet is not characteristically a person who foretells, but one who speaks forth a message from Deity." "Prophecy and prediction are different terms." "In bulk, predictions constitute but a small part, and what predictions there are consist almost entirely of promises and threats." Nor is a prophet, according to Dr. Beecher, simply a passive organ of the Spirit of God. "The Bible refuses to present any other picture of a prophet than that of a citizen like other citizens, holding a commission from God, and endowed with the gifts requisite for accrediting his commission." In the Scriptures as they stand, leaving out the exceptional instances that serve to emphasize the rule, our attention is withdrawn from external marks, and fixed upon the personal man or woman whom God has appointed to be a prophet."

These and like modifications are important, but they do not essentially affect the traditional theory in general. Dr. Beecher's conclusions will not commend themselves to the large body of professional biblical scholars. Why? Not from lack of ability, or learning, or desire on his part to reach the truth, but through his failure (unintentional, of course) rightly to apply the method of investigation now regarded as the true method. Modern criticism employs the same method in the study of the Bible, which science has employed with such marvelous results in the study of nature. It collects the facts, if possible all the facts, bearing on

the subject of investigation, examines them from every point of view to ascertain what they really mean in themselves, studies with the utmost care their mutual relations of identity or difference, and only then draws the inferences which the facts, so interpreted and compared, naturally suggest. The facts come first, then the theory based on the facts. No tradition, no assumption, apart from the facts, may be allowed to control the interpretation of the facts.

It is just here, we think, the author has failed. He is not true to the scientific method which, from his preliminary chapter, we had reason to expect him to employ. Unconsciously he reads the biblical facts in the light of extra-biblical tradition. It will be sufficient to call attention to a single instance.

One has but to follow him through the chapter on "The External History of the Prophets" to see that, in his view, the name prophet (*nābhî'*) has substantially the same meanings in all ages of the world, from the time of Abraham and before, through the long roll down to the post-exilian period, when "the succession of the prophets ceased with the dying out of Nehemiah and his associates, about 400 B. C." He tells us that "the prominent characteristics [of the prophets] are the same in all dates in the history, however the prophets of the different periods may differ in matters of detail."

Does this statment accord with the real facts? What the early "prophets" were in the time of Saul is clear from 1 Samuel 10: 5, 6. They were men who were violently seized by the divine spirit and thrown into a state of ecstasy, which was either, as here, intensified by music and song, or induced by it, as in the case of Elisha (2 Kings 3: 15). Wrought up into wild enthusiasm, they became frenzied, and in this state "prophesied." The verb rendered "prophesy" (*hithnabbé'*, or oftener *nibbā'*, the reflexive forms *Hithpael* and *Niphal*) is a denominative derived from *nābhî'*, and signifies "to show oneself a 'prophet'" (*nābhî'*). What that meant in the days of Saul is evident from 1 Samuel 18: 10, 11, where, when the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, he "prophesied," *i. e.*, raved, and in his madness hurled a javelin at David. Indeed, in 2 Kings 9:11; Numbers 9: 7; Jeremiah 29: 26, "prophet" (*nābhî'*) and madman (*mĕshuggā'*) denote one and the same person. The name *nābhî'* is of uncertain etymology; but in any case when employed in early Israel down to at least the ninth century, it denotes one in a sacred frenzy, whose excited utterances and wild manner give the impression of a person more or less demented. When Saul was in pursuit of David in Ramah, the Spirit of God came upon him also, as upon the three messengers whom he had before sent,

and stripping off his clothes also, he "prophesied" before Samuel in like manner and lay down naked all that day and all that night (1 Samuel 19: 23, 24). In view of these facts it will not do to say with Dr. Beecher: "We need not necessarily figure this as a company of dancing dervishes. It may equally well be a band of serious men, holding an outdoor religious meeting with a procession, and music and public speeches." But would any one, if he found such stories outside of the Old Testament, interpret them otherwise than as manifestations of frenzied men?

Similar phenomena are encountered in various religions from ancient times to the present day. Baal had his "prophets" who bear the same name as the Israelite "prophets" in the time of Saul, and behave in a still more mad and orgiastic way. In the great contest between Yahweh and Baal at Mt. Carmel, Elijah summoned 450 of Baal's "prophets" who, wildly limping about the altar, called on Baal from morning even until noon; and when at noon Elijah mocked them, they cried aloud, cutting themselves after their manner with swords and lances until the blood gushed out upon them; and when midday was passed they "prophesied" until the evening oblation was offered. What was the nature of their prophesying? Was it the delivery of discourses like those of Amos and Isaiah? Assuredly not. In the circumstances it could consist of nothing else than the frantic utterances and wild acts proceeding from a state of the highest ecstasy.

These "prophets" of Saul's time are so unlike the prophets of the eighth century and onwards whom we know from their writings, that we may well ask what end they served. This is not definitely stated, but may easily be inferred from what we know of the historical situation at the time of their appearance. Their aim was at once national and religious. The nation groaned under the Philistine yoke. It was filled with a sense of shame for Yahweh's defeat and with indignation against its heathen foe. The time for action had come. Then there arose men inspired with enthusiasm for the God of Israel. Preceded by lyre and tambourine, flute and harp, they went in bands from place to place, arousing the people to fight the battles of Yahweh against the Philistine hosts. Their enthusiasm, heightened by rude music, kindled enthusiasm and hope in the popular heart; the tribes became more closely united against their common enemy; and the armies of Israel, with Yahweh as their leader, achieved complete victory over their heathen oppressor.

How entirely different from these early "prophets" are the so-called *writing prophets,* who do not appear until toward the middle of the eighth century. We do not wonder that Amos, the

first of this new order, strongly disclaims being "a prophet, or the son of a prophet" after the older type. The name is the same, but its signification has become wholly changed. The grotesque features which characterized the "prophets" of the days of Samuel and Saul have disappeared. They are still seen two centuries later in the "prophets" of Baal, so numerous in the time of Ahab, but no longer, at least to the same extent, in the "prophets" of Yahweh. Yet even Elijah and Elisha cannot be placed on the same high moral plane as Amos and his successors. They interfered in the affairs of state, not hesitating to resort to violence for the accomplishment of their ends. Elijah slew the 450 prophets of Baal at the brook Kishon (1 Kings 18: 40). Elisha sent one of the sons of the prophets, that is, a member of a prophetic guild, to anoint Jehu king over Israel, thus overthrowing one dynasty and setting up another (2 Kings, ch. 9). Nothing like this is witnessed in the literary prophets of the eighth century and later. They too were politicians, but politicians who viewed the affairs of the nation from a divine standpoint. Their interest lay in the righteousness of the nation, and they used only moral means to secure their purpose. They simply proclaimed, in the face of all opposition, the Word of Yahweh.

Dr. Beecher's book, in spite of its defects, is yet full of interest. It can be read with much profit even by those who differ with him. One thing is especially noticeable and worthy of all praise: he is always respectful to his opponents, and his opponents cannot fail to respect him. This, we regret to say, is not always true of those who contend against the so-called higher criticism.

F. A. Gast.

The Development of Palestine Exploration. Being the Ely Lectures for 1903. By Frederick Jones Bliss, Ph.D., author of "A Mound of Many Cities," "Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–1897," etc. 12mo., pages xvii + 337. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Price $1.50 net.

This volume presents a series of eight lectures, delivered before the Union Theological Seminary by an alumnus in 1903 on the Ely Foundation, "with considerable amplification and one modification."

The scope of the lectures is general. Chronologically they cover a period of *c.* 4000 years, or from the Egyptian Papyrus which goes under the name of the Romance of Sinuhit, dating from the time of Usertesen I., *c.* 1966 B. C., to the modern "Schools" of Exploration: "The Practical School of Biblical Studies" (French, 1890), with its Theological Faculty and its

important organ, the *Révue Biblique,* under the auspices of the Dominicans; "The American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine" (1900), supported by some twenty universities and seminaries in the United States; and the "German Evangelical Archæological Institute" (1902). All these schools in Jerusalem were preceded by the Palestine Exploration Fund. Bibliographically the lectures cover an equally immense field which impresses itself all the more when one recalls that Röhricht's Bibliotheca Geographica Palæstina contains 3,515 names of writers on Palestine, from A. D. 333 to 1878 alone. These writers were for the most part explorers, or at any rate for the most part actual travellers. Of course the lectures do not take up all this literature, but they present the result of a critical sifting.

In Lecture I., The Dawn of Exploration, the lecturer reminds us that in Palestine up to this time recovery has greatly outbalanced discovery; that the impelling motive of the vast majority of travellers to Palestine, from the time of Constantine to the present day, has been a desire there to find confirmation, illustration and expansion of the facts presented by the Bible. A series of references to the land and places in the land were given by the Bible, and the main object has been to identify these.

The character and scope of the geographical references contained in the Bible is considered and the reader is reminded of the great geographer Ritter's happy expression, "the contents of the biblical books are not to be considered as intentionally or directly geographical; they are so, as a general rule, only in a secondary sense."

Egyptian and Mesopotamian references to Syria and Palestine are passed over in rapid review, beginning with the Romance of Sinuhit, son of King Amenemhat I. In this romance the district of Eaa is pictured as rich in figs and vines, in olive-groves and cornfields, in wine and honey, where the prince feasted on boiled meat and roast goose. After this romance the Annals of Thothmes III., who became sole master of Egypt *c.* 1493 B. C., are considered. This first historical presentation in Egyptian sources is pictured on the walls of the temple of Amen at Karnak in Upper Egypt, and describes fourteen campaigns into Syria and Palestine. Of especial interest for the lecturer's purpose is the list of Princes of one hundred and nineteen towns of Upper Rutenu or Palestine, who, according to the inscription, are "shut up in the miserable town of Maketa (Megiddo)," the siege of which the Annals describe in detail. The North Syrian list of towns is even larger, numbering about 235. The Tell-Amarna correspondence contained in the 320 famous cuneiform tablets,

conducted about the fifteenth century B. C., during the reign of Amenhotep III. and Amenhotep IV. is then considered. Among the Palestinian towns from which letters or inscribed tablets were sent to Egypt appears Jerusalem. The lecturer himself, Dr. Bliss, found in the course of his excavations at Lachish in 1892 a letter belonging to the same general correspondence. In 1903 two more were found by Sellin at Taanach; Macalister in his excavations begun in 1902 at Abu Shusheh—the Biblical Gezer—also reports the discovery of two cuneiform tablets of the seventh century B. C. The Egyptian Papyrus dating from the time of Rameses II., usually referred to as the "Travels of a Mohar" is then noticed. The adventures of an Egyptian officer, travelling in a chariot from the vicinity of Aleppo to Megiddo and hence to Egypt *via* Joppa is described in this Papyrus. Of the thirty-eight places mentioned in Palestine proper about one-half are well-known biblical sites. There is still a later papyrus dealing with the visit of another Egyptian official to Syria, *c.* 1070 B. C., illustrating the state of the country before the days of Samuel and Saul. The lecturer now calls our attention to the Mesopotamian references to places in Syria and Palestine, but *geographically* this material is not as explicit as that of the Egyptian records. There is no exhaustive list of conquered places like that of Thothmes III., nor do we find here a description of the land comparable to the Travels of a Mohar. The Mesopotamian material furnishes, however, abundant information for tracing the advance of Assyrian power in the west, but its actual geographical information furnished in the records is meagre. The account of Sennacherib's third campaign, the one against Judah in the time of Hezekiah, the lecturer considers as the best specimen the Assyrian material can offer him for his purposes. Of this he presents a brief *résumé*. The rest of this first lecture is taken up with a consideration of the references of Greek, Roman and non-biblical writers to Syria and Palestine: Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Tacitus, Josephus, *et al.*

In the three following lectures, The Age of Pilgrimage, The Crusaders and After, From Fabri to Robinson, the lecturer traces the course which the exploration of Palestine took during these centuries. During the first century before and the two centuries after the birth of Christ the geography of Syria and Palestine was treated by the Greeks and Romans with the best science of their day. In the Onomasticon of Eusebius († 340) and Jerome († 420) the subject of biblical geography reached such a lofty point as was not again attained for many centuries. From the Bordeaux Pilgrim whose journey was made 333 A. D.

to the monk Bernard, late in the ninth century western travellers to Palestine were impelled by no other motive than worship. The lack of information in regard to Syria and Palestine, from western sources, between the monk Bernard and the period of the Crusades, is abundantly compensated for by the wealth of material furnished by Arab and Persian historians and geographers: Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, Mukaddasi, Yakût, Abu-el-Fidâ, Ibn Batûtah, Jemal-ed-Dîn, Nasîr-i-Khusrau, *et al.* The pre-Crusading pilgrims from the West care more for the marvels associated with a place than for the way leading to it, or for a strict proof of its authenticity; these dim-visioned pilgrims during the Middle Ages knew how to pray fervently, but see clearly they could not. Their spiritual descendants in countless hordes coming in from the steppes of Russia may even be seen in the land to-day, at each recurring year. During the century of the Latin kings not much change set in. Felix Fabri (1483) is characterized as the "first typical modern explorer." After Felix Fabri the area of exploration is gradually widening; not geographically, but in the sense of including more subjects. At the end of the sixteenth century archæology, hitherto almost neglected, attracts Cotovicus, and toward the close of the seventeenth century it comes fairly to the front in the works of De la Roque and Maundrell. The natural history of the country is brought into prominence by Du Mans in the middle of the sixteenth century. Soon after him the pioneer scientific botanist, Rauwolf, appears. At the beginning of the eighteenth century appears an account of the various physical aspects of the country, while a few years later Hasselquist, the pupil of Linnæus, is in the country making collections in natural history. Geology has its representative in Rüssegger, a contemporary of Robinson.

In Lecture V. the work of Robinson, who "stands at the focal point where all the various lines converge" is taken up. Robinson's main energies were bent on the study of the physical and historical geography of Palestine. Identification was his keyword. Geology, natural history, folk-lore, and archeology are quite subordinate to him in his travels in the country. He was convinced that ecclesiastical tradition concerning the identificaton of Biblical sites was worthless, and that in the modern names lay the ancient nomenclature in fossil form, consequently when he visited the country he avoided as far as possible all contact with the convents and the authority of the monks and sought for information solely among the native population. In this he was assisted by Dr. Eli Smith, a missionary for many years in Syria. In this way he was able to make many additions to the modern science of Biblical Identification, as well as correct false identi-

fications. The lecturer gives considerable attention to the controversy inaugurated by Robinson because of his heterodoxy and sceptical attitude to the so-called Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

The remaining lectures, Renan and His Contemporaries, The Palestine Exploration Fund, and The Exploration of the Future, trace out more fully the evolution of the credulous pilgrim into the man of science. The lecturer reviews the works of the specialists characteristic of this period,—specialists in the departments of archæology, architecture, and the natural sciences. As the subject of his lecture indicates he gives especial prominence to Renan, the first Syrian excavator on a large scale. The work of the Palestine Exploration Fund is reviewed, a work in which the lecturer himself took an active part on the field. The survey is characterized as the monumental work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the lecturer is inclined to believe that with Sir Walter Besant it is perhaps not too much to say, "that nothing have ever been done for the illustration and right understanding of the historical portion of the Old and New Testaments, since the translation into the Vulgar tongue, which may be compared with this great work." The concluding lecture contains some practical hints to the explorer of the future.

Dr. Bliss, himself in no small way connected with the modern scientific exploration of the country, does not, as is apparent from the above, present in these lectures a compendium of the results of Palestine Exploration, nor a detailed description of monuments, but he does present a critically sifted bibliography, and in this way traces in a broad way the development of the exploration of the country from the earliest times to the present, noting the progress made in the art of identifying Biblical sites, and the appearance and development of a larger and wider interest in the country,—archæological, architectural, geological, botanical, and the interest of the folk-lorist. The lectures supplement very nicely Lic. Dr. J. Benzinger's sketch of "Researches in Palestine" in "Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century" published under the editorship of H. V. Hilprecht.

Note 4, p. 74, is misplaced, it should appear later, p. 85.

IRWIN HOCH DELONG.

THE ETERNAL LIFE. By Hugo Münsterberg. Pages 72. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905. Price 85 cents.

This little book is written in the form of an argumentative discourse addressed by a man of science to a friend with whom he sits by the open fire apparently in a reminiscent mood, mourning the loss of a third friend buried on the same day. The one so addressed is evidently a believer in the Christian doctrine of

eternal life, while the speaker tries to evolve a doctrine "compatible with the deepest truth of science and the most profound religion." He insists that science is the certainty that nothing can exist outside of the gigantic mechanism of causes and effects moving the stars in the sky as well as the emotions of the mind, but also acknowledges that science is not and should not be an expression of ultimate reality. He declares it to be an indispensable instrument constructed by the human will in the service of human purposes, connecting the things of this chaotic world in an orderly system of causes and effects, and helping to transform the whole world in thought till everything can be understood as a part of such a chain of causes and effects. As the scientist substitutes for the burning wood chemical molecules and for the red light of the fireplace ether waves that are dark, he shows us that so-called scientific realities are only abstractions of the scientist which can never tell us the ultimate meaning of reality, least so of the reality of human personality. The consistent scientist, of course, represents the phenomena of thinking and feeling to take place just as those which cause rain and snow in nature, resulting in the exercise of the human will as the necessary product, but he cannot make us forget that it is our own free will which makes us think of ourselves as mechanisms, that after all in reality we are not objects but subjects which take free attitudes.

While, therefore, personality creates by its attitudes the idea of time as form of its objects it is not itself bound by the prison of time. It is not an object in time but is itself the condition of time. To the scientist the world of objects is a world in time in which constantly new objects follow one another merely to disappear into the irrevocable unreality of the past. If we take ourselves as such causal objects all our past living and striving is likewise completely destroyed and at the moment of death our whole life has become unreal and we naturally look out to see whether time cannot bring us again a piece of reality after death in some form or other.

Would such a life be worth living? Would such a multiplication of phenomena in space and time have any value whatever? On the other hand life perceived as act and not as object, as a system of interrelated will-attitudes is independent of birth and death; it is immortal, it incloses all thinkable time and is eternal, and as such of immeasurable value; it shows us the real meaning of the every-day living. History becomes an endless manifoldness of political, legal, social, and intellectual will demands from the people with whom we come in contact. They challenge consent or dissent, they determine our attitudes in politics, sci-

ence, art and religion, they constitute a mighty system of will-references, a network of will-relations, reaching from the paradise of old to the present. The whole meaning of personal existence thus lies merely in will-relations to be understood and interpreted, but without significance when taken as causes and effects and treated as successive phenomena. The only important relation which a student of Plato bears to the Greek philosopher has nothing to do with the naturalistic fact that biologically two thousand years lie between him and Plato except for purposes of secondary explanations. Thus a thousand years become as one day and one day as a thousand years.

The value, thus, of such a real life is neither in time nor space but in honest action; for whenever we thus act we create values: truth and beauty, morality and culture, religion and philosophy, which demand our submission. But before we aim at these absolute values we must have faith in them, *i. e.,* the purpose of our will must take the character of an absolute value, so that that to which we submit means for us the absolute validity of knowledge, of harmony, beauty, religion, etc. In the temporal, causal world nothing is of real value because everything comes to view as the cause of something else; here is no good and bad, no value and no ideal, but merely a change in complication. But there values have reality because our will assumes attitudes in which ultimate ends are acknowledged and respected, absolute values which make life worth living.

Therefore we do not long for endless duration as our goal, but for more significance and influence and value and satisfaction, giving us complete repose. This aim is of course different for every individual, for every one lives to his own chosen ideals. On the other hand each one is more than an individual. The norms of the good and the true and the beautiful are our will-acts only in so far as we are absolute subjects, in so far as we stand above our will-attitudes as the oversoul, the absolute personality. As such our aim can never find complete satisfaction in any finite experience, this can only be realized in the absolute totality of the world. In the sphere of phenomena such a life has no meaning and value but as an endless personal influence of will, endless in personal relations it is eternal, progressive, ever creating new desires for further achievements in the world at large and exercising an ever richer influence on its friends. This is life eternal.

This is a very refreshing and clever bit of neo-Kantianism with touches of Nietzsche's voluntarism, very lucidly and brilliantly discussed, as we expect it from Professor Münsterberg. But Kant is, after all, more definite and concrete. His ultimate realities

are not merely the vague postulates of the true, the good and the beautiful, his will-attitudes bear definite practical relations to a personal God, to freedom and immortality. His doctrine of the primacy of the will centers, indeed in the firm belief that the highest values are only revealed to man's moral being, to his clear discernment of the "thou shalt" in his heart, but the giver of eternal life is He who speaks the "thou shalt," who is not, we think, merely subjective oversoul. However, in either case the old dualism between knowledge and faith remains, robbing life of its essential unity and with it of its eternal character in the Christian sense; such a doctrine is "not compatible with the most profound religion."

From a metaphysical standpoint Münsterberg's book is very readable and a valuable contribution to the ever-interesting discussion on eternal life.

R. C. Schiedt.

Rational Living: Subtitle, Some Practical Inferences from Modern Psychology. By Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College. Pages 271. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906. Price $1.50.

It might seem to be a hasty procedure to attempt to make practical use of results reached in a branch of psychological science which has been carefully studied for so brief a time. The author himself is conscious of the difficulties and expresses his hesitancy in the preface. And yet the mere fact that one so prominent in the world of philosophic thought as President King, has made this attempt, immediately challenges our inquiry into the merits of the work before us, and inclines us to read it with favor.

"Rational Living" is not designed to set forth concrete illustrations of psychological phenomena, but to draw practical suggestions from such illustrations and apply them to human life. This is done in a very readable style which makes the book interesting as well as instructive. The author draws "four great inferences from modern psychology." They are immediately recognized to be justifiable by one who has kept in touch with the modern investigations in this science. They are: (1) The Complexity of Life; The Multiplicity and Intricacy of Relations; (2) The Unity of Man; (3) The Central Importance of Will and Action; (4) The Concreteness of the Real; The Inter-relatedness of all. The book is divided into four parts and developed under the four heads above mentioned.

The author very convincingly sets forth the complexity of our subjective life. He, however, convinces one of life's richness rather than of its confusion. It is necessary to recognize the intricacy of relations in order to properly adjust them and make a simple life out of the complexity. He finds the grounds for

the complex aspect of human nature in the different departments of psychology. It is especially brought to light in the comparative method of psychological study of recent years, as illustrated particularly by Professor William James, of Harvard University. Man needs a "wide range of interests," but his world is no greater than the number of interests he can grasp successfully. His influence, freedom and sanity are measured by the breadth of his interests. All his experiences, however, must be interrelated. There is no separation of sacred and secular. He confronts many paradoxes in the physical, intellectual, and moral life, all of which must be solved in order to save himself from confusion. The simple life is dependent upon the proper solution of the paradoxes; and the proper solution is dependent upon a careful examination and taking into account of all the common activities of daily life.

In discussing "The Unity of Man," the author shows the interdependence of mind and body. They are designed by their Creator to be one in their practical operations. They are a unity. Neither can ignore the other in its activity without grievous loss. The body influences the mind, beneficially, through the presence of pure blood and surplus nervous energy. Disease and fatigue are both immediately effective for ill upon the mind. The consequent need of physical training and care is evident. The mind also influences the body in self-control over the bodily cravings. The will plays a fundamental part in securing rest, recreation, in avoiding fatigue and controling the emotions. In the conclusion of this subject, the author very clearly suggests intellectual and emotional helps and dangers for living. Among the latter are joyful emotions and their benefits; strained and sham emotions and their dangers; moods and their influence on willing, and dangers of passive emotions, thus showing the unity of the functions of mind and body.

"The Central Importance of the Will and Action" in rational living in the judgment of the author is made apparent by the fact that he devotes one whole part of his book to the subject. One striking difference between the older psychology and the newer, is suggested in the assertion of the former that "a man does what he is at the time" and the latter, that "a man is at the time what he does." Action born of the will truly reveals man. "The natural terminus of every experience is action." It is in the nature of our constitution. In mind and body we are organized for action. Action is necessary for the good health of the body and the sanity of the mind and emotions. But in action the will must control. The training of the will thus becomes an enormous problem for rational living. Self-control in

life's activities prevents exhaustion and yields strength in the intellectual, emotional and volitional faculties of the soul as well as the body. It is therefore the greatest help at hand for the realization of character, happiness and influence.

"The last of the four great inferences"—"The Inter-relatedness of All"—is but the outcome of the preceding. The mind and body are by nature adapted to relations. The fundamental intellectual functions, discrimination, assimilation and synthesis are all relating functions. There is an organic whole in all reality. Hegel brought the "analogy of the organism" to its climax in his philosophy. Since his day almost all scientific study is pursued with this analogy in mind. All persons are related to one another. The value of the historical rests on the "absolute worth of the person." "Relatedness and personality are not opposed." Lötze says, "to be is to be in relations." This is found to be characteristic of the person because the human body with limbs, hearing, sight and voice is made for personal association. Infants witness to this, in that they notice persons before things. The moral history of the race in its friendships and hospitality reveals it. The necessity of respect and consideration for others are thus evinced. The sacredness of the person is established. In social relations we discover uplifting power in the person. We reach the very important conviction that the completion of character is dependent upon fellowship relations. The brotherhood of man thus becomes a reality in idea as well as in experience.

This brief review of the book may serve to convey some idea of its worth. It is very evident that the works of such men as James, Royce, Sully, Starbuck, and others of the immediate past have made this work of Dr. King possible. Its practical benefits to the reader are numerous. It presents two striking suggestions for the ideal life: (1) It convinces one that the deepest needs of the human soul and body conform to the demands of the Christian religion. They are best satisfied by Christian living. Christ understood human nature perfectly. Nothing in the realm of thought so leads us to this faith as the testimony of human nature itself. Dr. King sets forth this testimony admirably. (2) The book also teaches one how to study and to know himself better. It shows the solution of the complexity of life. It clarifies the relation of mind and body. It suggests the normal exercise of the functions of both as necessary for rational living.

The book should find a hearty welcome by ministers of the gospel and all educators, for its helpfulness in studying human needs. It ought to be read also by laymen, and particularly by physicians. It sets one thinking about things which have been too much overlooked in our struggle upwards.

W. Stuart Cramer.

THE MAKING OF A TEACHER. By Martin G. Brumbaugh, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania. 12mo, pages 351, Philadelphia, The Sunday-school Times Company, 1905.

Moral and religious education is attracting not a little attention these times. Only a few days ago, at a great gathering of the secular schoolmen of our country, the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, held in Louisville, Ky., one of the themes most enthusiastically and thoughtfully discussed was that of "Moral and Religious Instruction in the Schools." The schools referred to were, of course, the public day schools. In that discussion prominent educators voiced the opinion that "we must get back to religious teaching in the schools," that "it was a staggering blow to our school system when it was decided that religious teaching was sectarian. The state superintendent of South Dakota said that their state association had appointed a committee of fifteen, representing as many denominations, to propose some form of religious teaching acceptable to all. However the secular schoolmen may settle the question, the fact remains that, for the present, largely because the secular school has declined to give religious instruction, that part of the adjustment of the American child to the "spiritual possessions of the race" is left almost wholly in the hands of the Sunday-school teacher.

In the Sunday-school, however, conditions are far from satisfactory. Complaints as to the quality of the work done by the Sunday-school teacher are heard on every hand. Possibly much of this complaint is due to a livelier conception of duty and privilege, occasioned by a "divine discontent" with present attainments, even though these be superior to those of the not remote past. Nevertheless, there is much ground for dissatisfaction with the work done in the distinctively religious school. Authorities on pedagogy gravely assure us that the average teaching in the Sunday-schools is considerably below that of the public day school.

How may conditions be improved? Criticism, especially, unless accompanied with intelligent advice, will accomplish little. Most Sunday-school teachers are devoted to their work, but, likewise, most Sunday-school teachers are not sufficiently informed either as to matter or method to be the artists in developing souls that it is desirable they should be.

Here is a book, by a veteran teacher, a student of pedagogy and a lecturer on education, which makes the attempt to give the assistance necessary to make the poor teacher a good teacher, to develop the good teacher into the artist-teacher.

The author rejects the theory that the good teacher is necessarily a born teacher. "Most teachers," he says, "are made—

not born—hence the necessity for training." In Sunday-school work we must recognize the truth acted upon by the state in training teachers, through normal schools, for the work of the elementary schools, and by the church in disciplining, through colleges and theological seminaries, the young men chosen to instruct the laity.

The teacher, to be a workman approved in word and deed, must know the mind to be educated, to be adjusted to its divine environment. That the novice may gain this knowledge our author attempts, very successfully, we think, and with the minimum of technical phraseology, to give a clear understanding of the principles and laws of mental activity which are essential to successful work with children. The language of the book is, in most places, so clear and non-technical that any earnest teacher, however unlearned in philosophical studies, may clearly apprehend the meaning. In a few places there might be improvement. The chapter on feeling strikes the reviewer as being somewhat vague and not satisfying; yet even here we find most excellent observations on the nature and training of conscience, which Dr. Brumbaugh, very properly, regards as the measure of the difference between our ideal life in thought and our real life in action. His suggestions as to how we may bring about improvement in conscience, how this difference may be made less and less are admirable. The relation between doubt and belief (p. 150) is not very clearly set forth, while on page 219, a phrase "life-lines" is used strangely. Are these words used in the sense employed in palmistry, for prophetic creases in the palms of the hands, or is the author speaking figuratively in nautical terminology? The absence of an index is to be regretted.

There are many most excellent things in the book which were noted down for comment as the volume was read. But for discussion of these space is not available. One thing especially attracted attention: the emphasis laid on the teaching of the Master Christ as the norm or pattern of our teaching. The paragraphs treating on this and on the value of the Bible as an authority on pedagogy are worthy the careful reading and earnest study of every preacher. Improvement in preaching in many pulpits would necessarily follow.

The book is to be commended to all—parents, Sunday-school teachers, pastors—who are concerned with the religious education of the young for, as the author well says, on page 158, "the problem is to comprehend the general principles of the process, common to all good teaching, and then to turn all this broad training to use in the domain of religious training."

W. W. Deatrick.

THE GIST OF THE SERMON: An Old Message for Young Men, On the Ground Plan of Cox's Exposition. By Herbert C. Alleman. Philadelphia, Pa., Lutheran Publication Society. Price 75 cents.

This is a book of 230 pages divided into twelve chapters, which "grew out of a series of sermons by the author, in the course of his regular pulpit ministrations when pastor of the College Church, Gettysburg, Pa." The sermons were an exposition and practical application of the Teaching of the Book of Ecclesiastes. We have a constitutional aversion to published sermons and are not much inclined to read books of sermons. Consequently it was with some reluctance that we opened this book for the purpose of reading it; though its chapters are not exactly in the form of sermons. But we had not perused many pages until our attention became rivetted and we read the book to the end with great eagerness. The style of the author is good and his thoughts are fresh. He is a comparatively young man, has read widely, is possessed of a good memory, a vivid and sane imagination, and strong reasoning powers. We find nothing to criticize in this book and much to commend. The author is a Lutheran minister, but there is no specific Lutheranism in these chapters. He deals exclusively with the Christian life and Christian ethics. His aim is to discover the "chief good" which everyone ought to seek and win. It is not to be found in wisdom, or wealth or pleasure, but in obedience to the injunction with which the preacher ends his meditations, namely, to "fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man." This book is full of wholesome truth and can be read with pleasure and profit by men and women of every denomination and no denomination. We commend it most heartily to the religious public in general and trust that it may have a wide circulation.

We wish to make two observations. There are some ministers who use the Old and New Testament Scriptures for homiletical purposes as though there were no difference between them. They find as much gospel in the one as in the other. There are others again who discard the Old Testament almost entirely in the thought that it has been superseded by the New. Both classes are one-sided in their practices. The Rev. Mr. Alleman gives us an example of the proper mode to be pursued by these sermons on Ecclesiastes. In order to appreciate the truth of any book of the Bible at its correct value it is necessary to hold in mind the circumstances under which and the purpose for which it was written and the stage of the development of God's Kingdom on earth at the time. Mr. Alleman does this. In the second place we wish to express our pleasure and joy in the fact that this young pastor reads and studies. The contents of this book clearly

show that he devotes some time to investigation and reflection. We are fully persuaded that too many of the young ministers of the Gospel, and perhaps of the older ones also, of all denominations spend all their time and efforts in pastoral work and sermonizing, neglecting general reading and study. This is a mistake. In our opinion just herein is found the cause for the low estimate that is laid on ministers of the Gospel in the present day. They do not study theology or philosophy or science or literature and as a consequence are not learned as they ought to be and do not acquire the mental and moral force which they ought to possess in order to fulfil their calling efficiently. Nothing will be so beneficial to the young minister as the adoption of courses of study from year to year and the diligent pursuit of them. We commend this young minister upon the fact that he has been studying and we commend his book as an excellent one for ministers and laymen to read. His first publication gives promise that he will in the future do still greater and better work for the Lord and His Kingdom.

A. E. Truxall

THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

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I.

THE LORDSHIP OF JESUS.

PROF. A. C. McGIFFERT, D.D.

MATT. 26: 64 and 16: 27, "Henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming on the clouds of heaven." "For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with His angels, and then he shall reward every man according to his works."

The occasion which calls us together this evening is one of peculiar interest and significance. It marks the close of their course of preparation for a number of young men, and foreshadows their speedy entrance upon the practical work of the Christian ministry, to which they have dedicated their lives. The Christian ministry is a ministry to which they have been called by Jesus Christ, and so it has seemed to me appropriate to the occasion to take as the theme of my discourse the Lordship of Jesus, whose they are and whom they serve.

The Lordship of Jesus finds very frequent expression in our New Testament and other early Christian writings. Thus, for instance, in Mark 16: 19, "After the Lord had spoken unto them, He was received up into heaven and sat on the right hand of God." In Acts 7: 54, "But Stephen, being full of the Holy Ghost looked up steadfastly into heaven and saw the glory of God and Jesus standing at the right hand

of God." In the two passages quoted as our text, where the session at God's right hand and the return for judgment are associated, and in Matt. 25: 31 where it is said "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory and before Him shall be gathered all the nations, and He shall separate them one from another as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats." And in our Apostles' Creed we have all the three particulars referred to in these passages, ascension, session at God's right hand and judgment, associated together in the familiar words "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

But what do we mean when we use these words to-day? It is clear that the figures contained in the passages quoted are out of date. For the Copernican astronomy has made it impossible for us to think of heaven as a place above our heads, to which Christ ascended and whence he will come down, and our modern way of looking at things is out of line with the naïve anthropomorphism of the fathers, who pictured Christ as actually seated on a throne at God's right hand. But the antiquated nature of the figures should not blind us to the essential character of the truth expressed by them, a truth which is still valid and still of significance. Never more significant indeed than to-day. It is not my purpose to try to set forth all that may be meant by the Lordship of Jesus, all that may be involved in the belief of the early Christians and of the church during the ages since, when they have called him Lord. I want to ask simply what elements of this great truth are of most importance to-day.

I. I should say first of all that an essential element in the Lordship of Jesus is the fact that the purposes of Jesus are the purposes of God, the ruler of this world. This is a fundamental Christian truth. "I came not to do mine own will," Jesus said, "but the will of Him that sent me." And from the beginning to the end of His career it was the work of God

He believed himself to be doing and the purposes of God He believed himself to be fulfilling. The truth is wrapped up, indeed, in His recognition of God as His Father, which underlay all he said and did and suffered. Had his ideals and purposes been other than the ideals and purposes of God as He understood them, He could not have thought of himself as God's son and of God as His Father. And so there should be no question about it. The Christian God, the God whom Christians worship, whatever may be true of the rest of the world, is a God who is controlled by the same great purposes which controlled Jesus, is, in fact, the same kind of a God that Jesus was a man. And so, if we would know Him, we must study, not nature, not history, not our own hearts, but Jesus Christ. The Christlikeness of God—it is the one great truth about God for which the Christian revelation stands. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father," Jesus said, and these words are a significant commentary upon many and various doctrines of God, which have emerged in the history of Christian theology, doctrines taken from a study of nature or of man, from science or philosophy, from human experience or fancy, from the Old Testament or the New, from every other source than from the revelation of Jesus Christ himself. God has been represented by Christian theologians, ancient and modern, as the omnipotent maker and ruler of heaven and earth; as the philosophical absolute, illimitable and indefinible; as at once infinite substance and almighty will; as the great All, in communion with whom we lose our petty individuality and become one with the vast universe of being; as the Holy One, into whose presence no sinner may enter; as the great avenger, who allows no transgression to go unpunished unless it has been duly atoned for; as the supreme sovereign of the universe who for the display of His glorious attributes of justice and mercy chooses some men to everlasting salvation and others to everlasting punishment; as one substance in three persons; as "a Spirit, infinite, eternal and unchangeable, in His being wisdom, power, holiness, justice, good-

ness and truth." These and many other things Christian theologians have said about God, but seldom enough have they said the one Christian thing about Him, that He is like Jesus Christ, that if we wish to know Him, we must study Christ, that only by looking upon the life and character of Jesus can we discover what the Christian God, our God, is. For I would have you notice that it is not simply that Jesus' revelation of God is normative, it is final and complete. Not simply that we are to refrain from attributing to God a character out of line with that revealed by Jesus, but that all we know about God we find in Jesus, who was the complete revelation of God to the world and "in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily."

The character and purposes of Jesus of Nazareth are, I say, the character and purposes of God. This is the true Christian position, and in it is wrapped up the Christian's challenge to the world. The God whom we believe in, we may say to the world, is the Father of Jesus Christ, and is controlled by the same purposes which controlled the life of Jesus his Son. If there be a higher God, show him to us and we will turn from the God and Father of Jesus to worship your God. We will bow before him in adoration and he shall be our God and we his servants. But if there be not, if the Father of Jesus Christ be the highest God we know or can conceive, then let Him be your God as He is ours, and let all of us give ourselves, as Jesus did, to the accomplishment of His purposes and the fulfilling of His will. We could not really remain Christians if we took any other position than this. If we believed that there is a higher God than Jesus' God, that the purposes which actuated Him are not the purposes which actuate the supreme God, we could not continue to worship the Christian God and we could not be content to wear the name of Christ, who was leading us to someone other and lower than the true God. And therefore, I say, in asserting that the purposes of God are the purposes which controlled the life of Jesus we are asserting a funda-

mental truth of our Christian faith, a truth which, if we did not believe, we could not, and would not wish to remain Christians. And so if we would know the purposes, above all the supreme purpose of God, we may discover it by looking upon Jesus and learning the supreme purpose which he undertook to accomplish, the purpose to which above all else He devoted his life. And that purpose it is not difficult to discover. Modern critical study of the New Testament has only made it the more evident, so that to-day the real meaning of Jesus' life stands out with a clearness which it never had in other ages. He came to promote the Kingdom of God, a kingdom in which men should give themselves to the doing of the will of God, their father, in the service of men, their brothers. Whatever God's relation to the physical universe may be, whatever His cosmical activities, whether He is or is not in all the forces of nature, and whether it is He that speaks in the orderly processes as in the great crises and convulsions of the world, is neither here nor there, is in fact of no direct importance to us. A man may believe in the immanence or in the transcendence of God, he may be a monist, or a dualist, or a pluralist,—all this is immaterial from the Christian point of view and comports equally well with Christianity. The one thing of practical importance for us to know about God is the purpose which He is seeking to accomplish in and through us and other men our fellows, that we may get into line with that purpose and give ourselves to its accomplishment even as Jesus did. To get into line with God's purpose is to be at one with the highest forces in the universe and is to succeed as one can in no other way, is to win a victory over all that would oppose and drag us down, over all the hostile forces of the world, even as Jesus won his victory. For though in all that ordinarily goes to make success, the life of Jesus was a failure, though He suffered poverty, shame, a criminal's death, the world to-day stamps His seeming failure as a real success, and recognizes His life and His death in the service of the cause for which He stood as the greatest victory history has to show.

Others have lived nobly and have died bravely, but it is the life and death of Jesus that have won the world. And that because the purpose for which He lived and died is the highest purpose which we can conceive, to build God's kingdom in this world of ours; not to exploit the world, and to win from it glory, wealth and power, but to promote the reign of righteousness and love, to set forces in motion which have made not for the mere well-being of Himself and of His friends and followers, but for the true and permanent betterment of the world. For He came not to save men out of the world, not to establish a church merely, but to save the world itself, to make it the kingdom of His God and Father. In the divineness of His purpose we recognize the Lordship of Jesus. He it is indeed that sitteth at the right hand of God, for His purposes are the purposes of God himself.

II. But, again, when we assert our faith in the Lordship of Jesus, we declare that His moral standards and principles are the highest known to us, and that we believe they are the moral standards and principles of God himself. What is the greatest of the virtues? One man says truthfulness, another honesty, another justice, another patience, another purity, another humility. Men have given all sorts of answers to the question and Jesus too gave his answer. Not purity, not honesty, not justice, good as these are, but love, the spirit and the purpose of brotherliness. All else Jesus subordinated to this one supreme thing. Not the publican, not even the woman taken in sin was condemned by Him, but the righteous Pharisee, who did his complete duty according to the law, but looked upon his fellows with scornful indifference. And not the holy priest or Levite, but the heretical Samaritan, the outsider, was the hero of His greatest parable. This was Jesus' ethical message to the world: "Ye are all brethren," "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Entering through the knowledge of our own needs and aspirations into an appreciation of the needs and aspirations of our fellows, by

means of that sympathy which true kinship breeds, we are to spend ourselves and all that God has given us that their needs may be met and their aspirations realized. And when we declare our belief in the Lordship of Jesus we virtually declare our faith that this moral standard of His is the highest standard in the world.

But do we really believe it? Certainly it has not always been believed by Christians. Soon after the days of Christ his followers, over against the corruption of the age, began to emphasize above all else personal holiness, and as time passed the more earnest spirits, finding it difficult to realize their ideal in the midst of the temptations and distractions of the world, went into the wilderness, or into the monastery, there to attain a Christian perfection which they could not among their fellows. The ideal thus expressed finally crowded out completely the ideal of Jesus, and the most noble and consistent Christians were believed to be these monks who sacrificed so much for religion's sake, the fact being overlooked that they sacrificed for religion's sake even the principles of Christ himself, whom they professed to follow and to serve. And the same ideal of personal holiness, with a view to personal salvation, has very largely controlled the thinking and the living of the Protestant Church as well. For though we have not had our monasteries, we have had our ideal of consistent Christian living as meaning the cultivation of our own spirituality, and with that in view, the avoiding of such and such associations, or the eschewing of such and such employments. And we have perhaps become Christians ourselves, or have summoned others to become Christians, in order that we and they may be saved, instead of seeing that the only truly Christian reason for being a Christian is that we may follow Christ in His life of service of His fellows.

And yet though Christians have made this great mistake far too often in the past, and perhaps we have sometimes made it ourselves, we realize to-day clearly enough that it is a mistake. As we look upon Christ we see what the Christian life truly is,

and more than that, we believe that such a life is the highest life in all the world. If we did not, if, on the contrary, we believed that there is something nobler than following Jesus in his life of self-forgetful service, if we believed that His summons to such a life as He lived is a summons to something lower than the highest, that for men to live with one another in the spirit of true brotherly kindness and helpfulness is not the best way to live, then we certainly should not think of calling ourselves Christians, but we should seek our leader elsewhere, a leader who might show us a loftier and more divine way. By the very fact that we call ourselves Christians, we declare that Jesus' moral standards and ideals are the highest known to us and that they appeal to the very best that is in us. We may think what we please about the physical power of Christ and about His cosmical activities, we may think of Him as working together with God in all the processes of nature, as holding the planets in their orbits and presiding over the succession of the seasons, we may mean all this if we please, when we speak of Him as exalted to the right hand of God, but it is entirely immaterial. We may believe it or not, without in any way affecting our Christian faith and life, and it is not for such beliefs as this that we stand to-day. Whatever may have been the case in other days, to-day when we assert the Lordship of Jesus, the only thing in the assertion that is of any consequence is that His purposes, His principles and His ideals are in control, that they represent the highest that the world knows. This we believe, and this we stand for, and for this reason we labor to make Jesus' purposes and ideals ever more widely regnant. We believe that society would be morally perfect if his principle of brotherly love controlled absolutely and everywhere all the relations of men with men. We recognize in Jesus' moral principles, ideal principles fitted for the life of man everywhere and always, and so we declare our belief in the Lordship of Jesus, in his exaltation to the right hand of God His Father.

And not simply do we recognize Jesus' principles as of ideal worth and so fitted to control the world, and not simply do we consecrate ourselves as Christians to the promotion of His principles that they may become ever more widely regnant, but we actually recognize that they are more and more dominating the world, and so our creed is not merely a declaration of what we believe ought to be but of what actually is in ever-increasing measure. For as we look into the world about us and then back into the centuries that are gone, we discover that to-day the thoughts and the lives of men are controlled by the principles of Jesus to a degree true in no other age. Whether the world is growing better or worse is a question often disputed. And whether there is more or less vice and intemperance, lying and stealing, Sabbath breaking and indifference to various religious ordinances, than there once was, may perhaps fairly be debated. But about one thing there can be no possible dispute, the age in which we live is witnessing a more widespread emphasis both within and without Christian circles upon Jesus' great principle of the brotherhood of man, and a more complete realization of it in active helpful service than any age before. And this is after all the great test. Recognizing as we do to-day that in the spirit and purpose of true brotherliness is to be found the highest expression of man's moral nature, we can hardly fail to see that the world is on a higher level than ever before. And unless we shall repudiate our belief in the supremacy of Jesus' ethical principles we cannot doubt that in the end this fuller realization in the world's life of his spirit will bring with it an improved moral tone in all respects. For he who fully enters into Jesus' purpose of service cannot permanently be content with the mere physical betterment of those for whom he labors, he must strive also for their moral uplifting, and for their sakes and not his own alone he must keep himself pure and upright as he tries to make them. And thus in the spirit of Christ which is laying hold so mightily to-day upon those without as well as those within the church, we may see a power for the moral uplifting

of the world more far-reaching and more efficacious than any other ever known. And all this we may give expression to when we declare our belief in the Lordship of Jesus. His is indeed the Kingdom, for His principles are taking increasing possession of this world, the world of His Father God.

III. Finally, the belief in the Lordship of Jesus involves the belief that He is judge, a belief that is expressed in the second of the passages quoted as our text, as also in the Apostles' Creed, which declares in accordance with New Testament teaching, that "He shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

But is not Jesus above all a being of love and mercy, and shall we think of him as judging and condemning anyone? Yes, Jesus is love and mercy and so is God, his Father. And we may be sure that every man whom God can save he saves, even as Jesus did all he could for every needy person within his reach. But not even Jesus, and not even God, his Father, can save all. It is not necessary for God to condemn the wicked, the wicked condemn themselves; and they pass judgment upon themselves every time they sin; yes, every time they fall short of the best of which they are capable. Let us not be misled by the imagery of our text. Let us not push the judgment far off into the future, and suppose it means only that at the end of the world the books will be opened and they that have done well will be received into eternal felicity and they that have done ill will be condemned to eternal punishment. The judgment is going on all the time, a judgment passed upon men not by Jesus, or by anyone else, but by themselves, as they fall below their own highest ideals of what they ought to be. And in the future they will not need Christ or anyone else to judge them, as they see in the light of the experience of their whole life how far short they have fallen of the man they might have been. What they will need then, as now, is not a judge but a Saviour, if haply they may be saved. And our text means to-day, and our creed as well, whatever they may have meant in other days of a more crude religious faith,

simply that judgment is passed upon men in accordance with the ideals and principles of Jesus. In this sense He is judge as He is Lord. Not are they good or bad, according to the ordinary standards of men the world over, but what are they according to the standard of Jesus, which transcends all others and is the highest that the world has known? Are they living with their fellows in the true spirit of brotherliness, the spirit of Christ? Are they serving to the best of their ability? Are they doing all they can to promote God's good purposes of love for the world? Are they using all their gifts and all their attainments not to promote their own prosperity but to help and bless the world? If not, of what good are they? Were they created for their own sake alone and can they live unto themselves alone? They may, if they will, but this universe in which we all live, run through and through as it is by the good purposes of God, the Father of Jesus, what place is there in it for one who lives only for himself? And when men come to a full realization of the meaning of it all, how the principle of service is writ large upon it from the highest to the lowest, from God himself to the meanest of His creatures, theirs it will be to pass judgment upon themselves. If they cannot be a part of it, if they cannot come into oneness with God's great and all controlling purpose, even when they see it in all its beauty and glory, if they cannot even then live with their fellows in the true spirit of brotherhood, and with their God in the true spirit of sonship, they will be glad enough to flee into the outer darkness.

"The Kingdom of this world is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." "Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand, come ye blessed of my Father inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me drink, I was a stranger and ye took me in, naked and ye clothed me, I was sick and ye visited me, I was in prison and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him saying, Lord when saw we thee an hungered and

fed thee, or thirsty and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger and took thee in? Or naked and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick or in prison and came unto thee? And the king shall answer and say unto them, verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
NEW YORK CITY.

II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF HUNGARY.

BY FRANCIS BALOGH,

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§ 1. *The Division of the History of the Hungarian Reformed Church.*

This history is to be divided into two parts:

(*a*) The reception and victory of the Reformation from the beginning until the fall of the dynasty of Prince Rákóczy (1517–1660).

(*b*) The suffering state of the Church and the gradual release of the same from the fall of the dynasty of Rákóczy until the present time (1660–1906).

PART FIRST.

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION.

§ 2. *The First (Lutheran) Traces of the Reformation at Buda; the First Measures Against It.*

The ninety-five Theses of Luther caused an echo at Buda, capital of Hungary. Margrave *Brandenburg*, the uncle and military instructor of King Louis II., showed sympathy with the new ideas; in like manner the German lords, belonging to the royal court, among whom was *Pempflinger*, with his daughter *Catharine*, courtlady to the queen. Even Mary, the young queen, looked on with favor, when Luther arose against the abuses, and she winked at the scourging of the pope and cardinals by her preacher, *Cordatus*. But when he was accused by

the internuncio, the queen was compelled to dismiss him from office. Cordatus then went to Luther and from Wittenberg sent John, his commissioner, to Hungary in order to spread the writings of Luther. The Hungarians captured and burned him at the stake, together with his books.

In spite of this dreadful event Cordatus returned to Buda in 1525, having confidence in the protection of the royal court, and with Kreislinger, priest of Buda, began openly to proclaim the Gospel. But both were captured and lodged in jail. Although through the influence of the court Cordatus was set at liberty, he had to leave Hungary forever.

Henkel, the learned courtpreacher, who was called to fill the place of Cordatus, also sympathized with the Reformation, but sowed the seeds of the Gospel more cautiously than his predecessor. He accompanied the queen to the imperial Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, and there preached the spirit of the Gospel. But Mary, by the request of Charles V., her uncle, had to discharge her favorite priest. Ferdinand, her other uncle, also endeavored to draw her away from the Reformation. But the queen in her soul remained faithful to Luther, who being informed of her attachment to the Reformation, forwarded to her the translation of four psalms and a song in order to console her, after the fatal fall of her husband, Louis II.

Under the influence of Queen Mary and Margrave Brandenburg the Reformation spread rapidly among the burghers of Buda. The council of the city, as early as 1552, called *Speratus* to be minister. He had been driven out of Vienna on account of his evangelical teachings. In the high schools scholars brought from abroad—like Grynæus, a friend of Melanchthon and Windschemius—taught the principles of the Reformation to the youth.

It was but natural that the heads of the Roman clergy arose immediately and most vehemently against the Reformation, which menaced their church to its foundation. They even aroused the nobility, representing the bulk of the nation, headed by *Verböczi,* the famous lawyer and supreme royal judge. He

objected on grounds of patriotism to the Reformation of German origin, and set himself against the German courtiers espousing it. As the delegate of the king he was present at the noted Diet of Worms (1521). He invited Luther to his table and disputed ardently with him. He printed Monk Ambroise's work written against the doctrines of Luther. He wrote the preface to the same, in which he called upon Louis II., as fitting a valorous king, to exterminate the "Lutheran contagion" from his dominion. The Diet of Buda in 1523, being under the influence of Verböczi and Szapolyai, made a law that the king as Catholic sovereign should punish all Lutherans, their patrons and adherents, with decapitation and confiscation. To the councils of the cities of Sopron and Bartfa an ordinance was sent forbidding under penalty the reading of the books of Luther. Royal commissioners gathered and burned the writings of Luther at Sopron. In consequence of the resolution of Buda, *Grynæus* and *Windschemius* were driven away from their chairs and became the ornaments of schools in other lands (Grynæus at Basle, Windschemius at Wittenberg).

The rage against the Reformation reached its highest point at the riotous Diet of Rakos in 1525, the leader here being Verböczi, the elected palatine. The fourth article passed here ordered that every Lutheran be driven out of the country and if any were found at any place, they might be captured and burned not only by ecclesiastical, but also by laical persons. For this law Pope Clement VII. honored the palatine with a congratulatory letter. In consequence of the law passed at Rakos the council of Buda burned one and Verböczi burned eight Lutherans.

On account of these severe ordinances and cruel proceedings the Reformation was indeed suppressed in the capital of Hungary. In the beginning of the Turkish dominion the first Protestant congregation and school were organized at Buda and they existed till the recapture of the city (1686). With the restitution of Christian supremacy they ceased again. Its

church building, which had been laid in ruins under the siege, was surrendered to the monks by King Leopold. The Reformed Church was not reorganized at the capital until 1796.

§ 3. *The Extension of the Reformation from 1526 till 1541.*

After the battle of Mohacs, in 1526, the nation could not agree as to the election of the new king and the country was divided into two parts. Two kings were elected—the national party elected John Szapolyai and the Hapsburg party Ferdinand. Civil war broke out between the two parties and kings, and amid the continual contest and struggle the Reformation extended rapidly, because without outward oppression and violence the people could freely receive the long expected truth of the Gospel.

At first both kings issued severe ordinances against the Reformation. King John menaced the Lutherans with confiscation. In consequence of his orders pastor *Nikolai* and teacher *Gregori* suffered martyrdom at the stake for their faith (1527).

The ordinances of King Ferdinand sounded more strongly; the monks leaving the cloisters and taking wife were to be put in jail; those who rejected the veneration of Mary the Virgin to be sentenced to death, as well as the ministers who administered the communion in both kinds; the building, in which it happened was to be razed. But when both kings perceived that the Reformation was spreading without stoppage, as it were the morning light, and that those nobles whom they sorely needed to strengthen their royal power were becoming converts to the purified religion: both failed to set themselves energetically against the Reformation or to enforce the ordinances. The kings were compelled to be patient and tolerant, and so the magnates, nobles, cities and common people turned over in crowds to the Protestant faith.

In the territory under Turkish dominion the individual was allowed to follow his religious conviction. Even the Turks were more favorable to the puritan Protestantism than to the

Roman Catholics, whom they were inclined to class as idolaters on account of their attitude as to the pictures and saints.

It was of great importance to the quick expansion of the Reformation that, especially after 1530, the Hungarian youth —even older men too—turned in great numbers to the university of Wittenberg, where by immediate contact with the Reformers they received a new spirit and view of the world and became in Hungary the bold preachers of the same. From 1552 till 1560 the number of Hungarian students who heard the words of the Gospel at Wittenberg amounted to nearly fifteen hundred. Armed with science and faith, aglow with apostolic enthusiasm, with courage to endure as martyrs, these, teaching in the national language, became the greatest of the Hungarian reformers and conquered the hearts of the lower and the upper classes for the Reformation.

§ 4. *The First Patrons and Proclaimers of the Reformation.*

The first patrons and proclaimers of the Reformation appeared after the battle of Mohacs, the period being favorable for the Reformation. At first only indulgence and good will were shown toward the purified faith. We know only of Margrave *Brandenburg* as openly Lutheran. He organized an evangelical church at Simand.

Thurzó, the state-treasurer, later supreme judge, in his testament, laid a foundation for the Lutheran congregation of Löcse, as well as for the support of those young men going to the University of Wittenberg. *Perényi,* the powerful lord of Sárospatak, directly asked the king not to disturb him as a good Christian. Under his protection the Gospel was proclaimed by *Siklósi.* At the same time the other enthusiastic soldier of the Reformation, *Kopácsi,* a Franciscan prior, came upon the scene and reformed the dominion of Perényi. This lord established a school at Sárospatak (1531), of which the first professor was Kopácsi. *Gálszécsi,* reformer at Gyula, wrote the first hymnal (1536), and edited a catechism at Cra-

cow (1538). His pupil was *Patizi,* whom Melanchthon recommended to the protection of John *Perényi,* lord-lieutenant of Ugocsa. He was an excellent author of songs and books. *Ozorai,* working in the county of Békés, in his work on "Christ and the Antichrist" (1535), was the first to throw light in a literary way on the mind as to the essential differences existing between the Roman and the Protestant churches.

Beyond the Danube, *Nádasdy,* the palatine of the country, was the most zealous and influential patron of the Reformation. He was the favorite counselor of King Ferdinand and his delegate to the imperial Diet of Speier (1529). He established a school at Ujsriget, for which Melanchthon honored him with a laudatory letter.

To this school of Nadasdi was called Erdösi. This man of evangelical spirit and great learning was the first to translate the New Testament into Hungarian. His science was so well reputed that he was appointed professor of the Hebrew language at the university of Vienna.

Eszéki, the founder of the school at Tolna, sowed the seeds of the Reformation beyond the Danube. He was accused before the pasha of Buda, but, after having been well informed, the pasha issued the famous order that the ministers be allowed to preach the evangelical faith everywhere and to everybody.

In the upper territory of Hungary, where the German language was spoken, *Lovcsányi, Quendel* and *Fischer* spread the Reformation. The reformers of Transylvania were *Heltai* among the Hungarians and *Honter* among the Saxons. The latter was called for his merits to be the Evangelist to Transylvania.

In the country of King John, toward the end of his life, the Reformation spread further and further. He was compelled himself, when the pope did not support, but even excommunicated him on account of his alliance with the Turks, and when he was suspected with heresy, to take the longest step toward the Reformation. The king himself provided a way of escape

for *Szegedi,* who was about to be dragged to the pile by Bishop Frater, because at the first dispute held at Segesvár (1538), he had asserted that the mass and the administration of the communion in one kind are contrary to the Gospel.

§ 5. *The Reformatory Career of Matthias Biró of Deva.*

After the battle of Mohács a favorable turn for the Protestant cause was marked by the appearance of *Biró,* who was the first Hungarian reformer with a general purpose. He was born at Déva and studied at Cracow. On his return he became monk. But the mechanical ceremonies did not answer the world of his thought and feeling. Moved by the free spirit, he took off his monastic gown and betook himself to the University of Wittenberg in 1529. There he drank in the words of Luther and Melanchthon, boasted of their confidence, and imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation. Returning to Hungary he devoted his life to the cause of the Reformation and, like St. Paul, was willing to do and suffer everything for the Gospel of Christ.

At first he labored at Buda and in its vicinity. He summed up the evangelical doctrine in fifty-two articles, and though these were read in manuscript only, they had great influence in illuminating men's minds. His other pamphlet, by which the Reformation was introduced, was on "The Sleep of the Saints."

For his teaching King John captured the bold preacher and put him in jail. But after having fortunately escaped, he fled to Kassa, where the people welcomed him. Here too persecution awaited him. The suffragan-bishop of Eger sent his beadles by night and dragged him under escort to Vienna in 1531. In vain the council of Kassa petitioned in his interest. Bishop Faber, of Vienna, put him in fetters and set him before an inquisitory court. Several times he was summoned from prison and teased and terrified in order to lead him from his conviction; but he scientifically defended his standpoint and as a Hungarian citizen objected to the foreign

and partial judges. Once Faber let him depart to his prison with these words: "I would bless thee if thou wert a Christian." Biró replied: "I do not want thy blessing: God blesses me." Finally by the intercession of the people of Kassa, he was released from the prison and went to the court of Lord Nádasdy, in Sárvár (1533).

In this quiet refuge Biró composed his reply to Szegedy, monk of Nagyvárad, who, commissioned by Bishop Faber, undertook to refute the theses of Biró and prepared an apology for the veneration of the saints. Biró printed his work at Cracow in 1537. But previously, in order to cure a disease of his eyes and stomach, with the aid of Nádasdy he went to Nürnberg, where he spent the winter with a fellow-minister, whose friendship he had formed at Wittenberg. By request he wrote the story of his imprisonment at Vienna, and in order to make it understood to foreigners he prepared in Latin his reply to Szegedi. It was translated later into German. From Nürnberg he visited Wittenberg a second time, and thence took along a letter of Melanchthon addressed to Nádasdy, in which Melanchthon most warmly recommended him.

After his return to Hungary, because the bishop of Eger intended to arrest him he fled abroad to Melanchthon. He, wishing to help the persecuted Hungarian reformer, commended him to Margrave Brandenburg, who lived at that time near to Nürnberg. Not until 1543 could he return to Hungary. He received ministerial office at Miskolcz but before the rage of the monks had to flee, and Dragfi took him under his protection, beyond the Theis. Not long afterwards (1545), Biró completed the course of life, which in his case was full of adversities, but crowned with signal success. It is not known with certainty where he died and where rest the ashes of the great reformer.

§ 6. *The Conditions from 1540 till 1555.*

In the territory of King Ferdinand the hierarchy arose more strongly against the Reformation and demanded legal

measures. Several fanatic lords, growing bold, wreaked their anger in horrible manner upon the proclaimers of the Gospel. For instance, Lord-lieutenant Bebek pursued *Fischer,* the reformer of Csetnek and having captured him cast him from the precipitous promontory of a castle into the abyss.

But it was necessary to smite also the lords. First the avenging rage turned toward Lord *Perényi.* Accused of federation with the Turks, the king arrested and kept him in prison until death. So the Reformation was deprived of its first pillar. The hierarchy, in order to check the protection of the lords who patronized the Reformation, caused the king to send orders to the captains that they should set themselves against the proclaimers of the "heretic doctrines." Váradi, archbishop of Esztergom, ordered the Protestant ministers to be bound and dragged to Nagyszombat. When Charles V. cut down the troops of the federation in Germany the people turned yet more energetically against the purified doctrine. The Diet of Pozsony in 1548 passed a law with the purpose of bringing back the religion to the former state. It was ordered by articles that "prelates might be elected from men adorned with faith and knowledge, and who themselves should teach the flock. They should commission deans, subdeans and other persons whose duty was to teach the people; and to those, if they were not sufficient, good preachers must be added." So the attention of Ferdinand and of the country was turned by the persecuted Protestantism to the cause of science and education. In another order the states decided upon the eradication of the heresy; according to the eleventh article the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians (so were called the followers of Calvin) were to be driven away from the estates, and it was not allowed to tolerate them within the limits of the country.

The Diet of 1550 repeated that the old religion was to be restored and the heretics were to be persecuted. At the Diet of Sopron in 1553 the Roman clergy would order that no books be printed without their license, but Nádasdi, the palatine, prevented such a restriction of the liberty of the press.

Transylvania, the other district under Queen Isabella, presented a different picture. Her chief counselor, Bishop *Martinuzzi,* flew into a passion, when *Heltai* proclaimed the Gospel among the Saxons, but their political aid being wanted, he did not dare to disturb them any more. So the Saxons came to be devoted to the Reformation.

However, where political causes did not hinder, Martinuzzi was aroused with full severity against the purified faith. Noticing that in his diocese there were reformers, he issued an edict at the Diet of Debreczen (1545), that the Reformed ministers must not be endured. The Diet commissioned him and Petrovics to take them into custody. But it was impossible to stop the Reformation by violent means. It got so strong within a short time that the Diet of Torda in 1548 was satisfied with an order that the ministers must not leave their places.

§ 7. *The Career of Sztárai, the Reformer.*

Michael *Sztárai* was an educated monk who labored at Sárospatak and later at Laskó. He translated the psalms into Hungarian and with a sweet voice sang them before the people, who not having heard them before, thronged in great numbers to the singer. While surrounded by a multitude he began to explain in inflaming speeches that the mass, indulgence, ceremonies, etc., were all human inventions and of no use. He expounded the evangelical truths in a way so clear that his hearers in large numbers left their priests and joined him. His foes tried many times openly and secretly to get him out of the way, but his loving followers protected " his smooth and bald head."

In his triumphant reformatory tours he fought with the Roman clergy for seven years; he penetrated to districts beyond the Drava and aroused so much enthusiasm that two hundred congregations were organized within a short time.

After completing the tours he became pastor at Laskó. He visited the congregations with the authority of a bishop, and

ordained ministers for the new churches. Sztárai not only as a preacher, but also as a popular author propagated the principles of the Reformation. He wrote the life of Archbishop Cranmer and of Bishop Athanasius. With his stage play, "The Mirror of the True Priesthood"—consisting of three acts—he broke a new literary way. He also had it performed. He wrote another play on "The Marriages of the Priests." Sztárai was one of the greatest and most generally influential reformers in Hungary. His character was as impetuous and aggressive as that of Luther, to whose doctrine on the Lord's Supper he remained faithful until death. In other doctrines, however, he did not exhibit absolute attachment to Luther. Thus, especially through the influence of Kiss, the churches organized by him became flourishing Reformed congregations.

§ 8. *The Career of Stephen Kiss of Szeged, the Reformer.*

In his character *Kiss* was like to the mild Melanchthon. He was a professor, minister and literary author. This eminent person of the Hungarian Reformation was born at Szeged in 1505. In mature years he acquired knowledge at the universities of Vienna and Cracow. He too was touched by the breath of the free spirit and visited Wittenberg in his 37th year, where he received the degree of doctor of theology (1543).

After his return to Hungary Kiss began to labor at Csanád, but the cruel lord of this town despoiled him of two hundred books and drove him out of the city. So he set out for Gyula and later to Czegléd. As professor at the latter place he introduced Melanchthon's theology into the school. *Petrovics,* the chief captain of Temesvár, endeavored just at that time to organize there a school of higher degree. With keen foresight he invited Kiss to be a professor. In the town, as well as in the vicinity, under the powerful protection of Petrovics and by the zeal of Kiss, the cause of the Reformation received a great impulse. But when the town went into the possession of King Ferdinand, Kiss, together with the other ministers, was driven

away. He started a second time to move around. Tur received him in its school as a professor. Then he went to Békés, but here he was despoiled of his money and books by robbers among the German troops, and was compelled to flee. Then he removed beyond the river Danube and became a professor at Tolna, and later a minister at Laskó. From the boundary limit Kiss went to Kálmáncsa. But his enemies accused him before the pasha of going over to the territory of the neighboring kingdom to preach. The pasha lodged him in jail at Szolnok and scourged him. The whole vicinity was affected by the undeserved fate of the reformer. A delegation started in his interest to Buda in order to release him. But they were able to gain no more than the concession that he was allowed to work in his room bound in chains. A woman traveling through Szolnok was affected in her soul when she saw the learned reformer in this miserable position. She, on her deathbed, in tears, wrung from her husband a promise that he would release the reformer. The man made good his word and Kiss was taken out of the prison.

But in order to avoid further trouble Kiss left Kálmáncsa and removed to Ráczkeve, to his last ministerial station. In this territory he governed nearly thirty-five congregations—which bowed before his knowledge—with the authority of a bishop and ordained ministers. He raised the school of this town to success and fame. He called as his assistant *Skaricza,* born in Ráczkeve, and directed his education. He loved him as his own child, and helped him to go abroad.

Kiss was the most learned among the Hungarian reformers. He cultivated poetry also. His works were written in Latin, were published after his death, and were read throughout Europe. His work against the Unitarians, entitled "De Trinitate" was edited by Beza at Geneva. This great successor of Calvin called him a "champion worthy of eternal memory." His best read work, "The Mirror of the Roman Popes," was published by his son at the cost of the burghers of Ráczkeve. His largest theological book, "Loci Communes,"

saw daylight at Basle (1585). It reached five editions and was translated into German. Skaricza, his successor, gathered and edited his biography. He published also Kiss' picture, which he had drawn.

§ 9. *The Organization of the Principality of Transylvania; the First Law Concerning Religious Liberty.*

According to the jeering remarks of Archbishop *Pázmány* the Hungarian Protestant Church was organized by two Peters: *Petrovics* and *Perényi.* Both were indeed powerful pillars of the Reformation. Sad days came to the developing Protestantism when Perényi was imprisoned and Petrovics was banished from the country. Transylvania especially suffered very much from the conquering German troops. The magistrates had to swear by calling on the names of the saints and were obliged to persecute the followers of the reformed faith.

Thus the persecuted Protestants cast a look toward Sigismund John, the young son of King John, and urged the Turks to restore his country. The Sultan replaced Perényi in the government of Temes. Perényi waited for a favorable occasion to start a movement in the interest of Sigismund John. Indeed, at the Diet of Szászsebes (1556), Sigismund was elected prince of Transylvania. The diet declared against the Roman king (Ferdinand). So the principality of Transylvania became independent and to Queen Isabella was intrusted the government till the full age of her son.

Next year the Diet of Torda, urged by Perényi, added to the laws the noble decree that everybody might follow the faith which seemed to him right, and that no party might dare to show disrespect or violence while disputing with another. *This was the first law for religious liberty in Europe,* which came into existence as the beautiful revelation of the free Hungarian spirit. This law was the crowning accomplishment of Perényi, the champion of liberty. He passed away in the very same year.

II. The Formation of the Reformatory Movement.

§ 10. *The Reformation of the Cities of Debreczen and Nagyvárad.*

Debreczen was already in the sixteenth century the most populous and imposing city of the Hungarian Lowland. It governed itself and elected its priests and magistrates. King John donated it to Valentine Török, his favorite adherent.

After Török had fallen into a Turkish prison, his wife, Catherine Pempflinger, lived at Debreczen. Her good will toward the Reformation is testified to by a contemporary historian in calling her "the Lutheran lioness." Trusting in her protection Valentine *Kovács* was the first to proclaim the purified faith at Debreczen. But the Diet of Debreczen (1545), moved by Bishop Martinuzzi, menaced the reformers with arrest and Kovács removed from the city.

The Reformation found its zealous patron in the son of Valentine Török. Under his protection the Reformation of the city made rapid progress. Rev. *Radán* and school principal *Dézsi,* a man of poetical inclination, publicly joined the Reformation in 1549. Radán prayed in this manner in his hymn to the "True Judge": "From the great idolatry (*i. e.,* the veneration of the pictures) deliver us, for thy name's sake." The Franciscan monks who had a monastery and school at Debreczen, on account of the unfavorable conditions, left Debreczen and their school came into the possession of the city. In the autumn of 1551 Sztárai also appeared at Debreczen; he held a conference, and with the assuring letter of the Turkish pasha of Buda called and invited young ministers to the territory which had been under the Turkish dominion.

At the council of Beregszász in 1552 held under the protection of Petrovics, appeared also Radán, the reformer of Debreczen. At that time Lord Török allowed the Protestants to enter into the possession of the cathedral named after St. Andrew (the principal church of to-day), where since that

time the Gospel has been proclaimed uninterruptedly. The burghers from first to last accepted the corrected faith.

As the successor of the enthusiastic Radán, *Kálmáncsehi,* the favorite of Petrovics came to Debreczen. By him the Reformation extended and developed in a definite Reformed direction. Radán went to Beregszász. But while preaching there in the pulpit he was shot by a fanatical monk.

At *Nagyvárad* the military bishop for a long time made impossible everything in the interest of the Reformation. He drove out of the city *Lippai,* who had proclaimed here the Gospel. But after the capture of the city by Varkocs, the commander of Queen Isabella, the members of the chapter emigrated to the territory of King Ferdinand. The state occupied the estates of the bishop and chapter, and the palace of the bishop was remodeled to be the residence of the queen.

After the passing of the first law concerning religious liberty the Protestant congregation was organized at once. The monks removed from the city, the number of the Roman Catholics decreased, and many of their priests were converted to the Protestant faith. In the dominion of King John only eight noble families remained faithful to the Roman Church.

Czeglédi stood as first pastor at the head of the Protestant Church of Nagyvárad in 1557. By and by Nagyvárad with Debreczen became the metropolis of the Reformation of the Lowland.

§ 11. *The First Messengers of the Strict Reformed Doctrine. Martin Sánta Kálmáncsehi.*

The Institutio, the fundamental work of Calvin, in Hungary, as everywhere else, produced a great effect upon the mind. It caught Dévai, too, and afterward he became the first messenger of the Helvetic Reformation. For this reason he parted from his chief protectors, Nádasdi and Perényi, who remained Lutherans. Dévai was accused by Stoeckel before Luther (1544), who answered that he was not the one from whom Dévai learned the doctrine on the Lord's Supper.

On account of the death of Dévai and the behavior of several lords in protecting the Lutheran faith, the expansion of the Reformed doctrine was rendered difficult. But it gradually won men's souls. *Fejértói,* court-secretary of King Ferdinand, corresponding with Bullinger, wrote him in 1551 that in spite of the oppression many of the Hungarians were verging to the Helvetic view on the Lord's Supper.

At this juncture *Kálmáncsehi* came upon the scene as the pioneer of Calvinism. He had been a classmate of Dévai at Cracow. Some later hand, after his name in the register of the university, noted the following: "He introduced the first heresy of the Sacramentarians [it was the first sobriquet of the Reformed] into Hungary." This very learned humanist and canonist served as canon at Gyulafehérvár, but as a judge, at the first disputation of Segesvár in 1538, spoke favorably of the Reformation. Then he publicly joined Calvinism and was president of the council held at Beregszász (1552), and was zealous for the administration of the Lord's Supper from tables instead of altars. The council of Ovár in 1554 shows that many had become partisans of his view. Here eighty-eight ministers were present; this council declared the removal of pictures and altars to be the task of the magistracy.

Kálmáncsehi was called from Beregszász to Debreczen to fill the place of Radán (1554). Here with his bold preaching he gained the magistracy and took the altars, fonts and pictures from the churches. This puritan innovation embarrassed the protectors of the Reformation. Stoeckel inveighed severely against Kálmáncsehi and declared the adherents of the Reformed doctrine rebels against the country. In order to put a stop to the extension of the Reformed faith, Lord Báthory convoked a new council at Erdöd in 1555, where it was resolved in form of decrees that the body and blood of Christ are really present in the Lord's Supper; the auricular confession is to be continued; and the proclaimers of the false doctrine should be summoned before the court and lose their office.

In consequence of that decree the position of Kálmáncsehi

in Debreczen became dangerous. Again he joined Petrovics, his powerful protector, who at that time started to free Transylvania. So Kálmáncsehi introduced the Reformed conception also at Kolozsvár in 1556, where it began to be called a "Hungarian religion," in contrast with Lutheranism, which was accepted generally by the Saxons of Transylvania.

The pioneers of the Lutherans of that age—as pastor David and superintendent Hebler—entered the lists immediately with tongue and pen against the doctrine of Kálmáncsehi. In one year the contrast grew so sharp between the two denominations, that moved by Petrovics, this hero of great influence, the *first national council was convoked at Kolozsvár* in 1557 in order to discuss and clear the contested questions. Kálmáncsehi could not be present because he was dangerously sick, and the final decision was made without him. A confession, entitled "Consensus doctrinæ," in which the doctrines of Luther were adopted and declared to be right, was prepared by the majority. And to seduce the Hungarians and Szeklers from the Reformed faith Dávid was the first who was elected superintendent over the Hungarians. This unfavorable turn for Calvinism was furthered by the deaths of Petrovics and Kálmáncsehi.

The Roman Catholics as well as the Lutherans most severely condemned the doctrines of Calvin. The provost of Arad in his statement called the doctrine of the non-presence of the body of Christ in the host as taught by Kálmáncsehi a "horrid monster." The Lutheran Hebler characteristically called his pamphlet, written to refute Kálmáncsehi, "Medicinal Herb for Insanity."

§ 12. *Foundation of the Reformed Church in the Territory of Transylvania.—Melius.*

The common agreement of the first national council held at Kolozsvár in 1557 was sent to Melanchton for decision. Melanchton in his letter approved of the conception of Luther. Then the Diet of Gyulafehervár (1558) set itself openly against the Reformed. By it the die was cast.

In this critical period, Peter *Tuhász,*—a man of strong character, great learning and matchless energy,—stood at the head of Calvinism at Debreczen. His name first appears in the register of the University of Wittenberg in 1556. Here he changed his name into the Greek (Melius), and afterward used both alternately. Debreczen called him to be its pastor and won over a great many of the Hungarian learned class and nobility for Calvinism, and even set Dávid to thinking.

At the conference of Nargyvárad (1559) Melius, with Dávid and the pastor at that place, set down in writing the first Reformed confession on the true meaning of the Lord's Supper. According to this the faithful ones receive the Lord's body and blood not with mouth but with heart; *i. e.,* spiritually. Dávid printed this writing in the same year, and it was accepted by the Szeklers of Transylvania at the council of Vásárhely. Then Melius, with his fellow ministers Szegedi and Czeglédi, meeting several times, made ready the first Hungarian Reformed Confession in Latin (1561). Next year Melius was elected bishop by the Transtibiscan Reformed people.

The confession of Melius which is called the Confession of Debreczen was accepted also by the Reformed elements in the Valley of Eger. (Here is derived the name, confessio agrivalensis.) The congregations along the river Theis accepted at the council of Tarczal (1562) the confession of Beza in a shortened and modified form. After a year the congregations of Transylvania acted likewise at the council which occurred at Torda (1563). Thus came into existence the Confession of Tarczal-Torda (Compendium doctrinæ christianæ).

By the influence of Melius and Dávid the magnates of Transylvania joined the Reformed faith in great number,—even the young king himself. This extension prompted the Saxo-Lutherans, together with Superintendent Hebler, to lay complaint against the church of Debreczen before four German universities. Melius took up his pen and in two Latin replies defended the Reformed doctrines.

In order to avoid the schism many conciliating councils were held in Transylvania. The prince himself convoked the last one, at Nagy-Enyed (1564). But, both parties failing to yield, coexistence became impossible. The prince, after a barren reconciliation, confirmed by law the liberty of the Reformed Church and appointed Dávid to be minister to his court and the first Reformed bishop of Transylvania. By it the schism between the two Protestant Churches was made final.

§ 13. *The Organization of the Reformed Church in the Territory of the Hungarian Kingdom and in the Turkish Dominion.*

In the territory of the Upper Theis, Perényi was the most powerful protector of the Lutheran doctrine. But his severe demeanor could not lead the Calvinists from their view. The classmate of Melius, minister and dean of Göncz, convoked a council in 1566, which, agreeing with the council of Tarczal, accepted the Confession of Beza and the Catechism of Calvin and rejected the popish host, this "perverse bread."

After the death of Perényi the vicinity of Sárospatak also gained freedom from the oppression. *Czeglédi,* the minister and dean of Sárospatak convoked the council of Sárospatak in 1568, which adopted the Reformed system of faith.

The ministers of the two sister denominations were at last together in the Transdanubian district. The storm broke out while *Beythe* was the superintendent under the influence of the "Formula Concordiæ," made in rigid Lutheran spirit, which caused in Hungary, as in Germany, discordance instead of the purposed union.

In order to conciliate the followers of Luther and Calvin, Lord *Nádasdy* convoked a conference at Csepreg (1591). The dispute occurred especially between the rigid Lutheran Skulteti and Beythe, the latter inclining toward Calvin. When Beythe noticed that the others intended to judge him he left the conference indignantly. Then the Lutheran Nádasdy

expressed his thanks to Skulteti, and after giving the victory to the doctrines defended by Skulteti, ordered that the "Formula Concordiæ" must be taught by the ministers in his territory under penalty of losing their position. But the schism did not become general.

The next year Pastor *Pathai* of Pápa published a small book on the Lord's Supper and adopted in it the doctrine of Calvin, upon which Beythe congratulated him. Skulteti, being excited by it, attacked Beythe passionately and refused to obey him as his superintendent. But Beythe resigned his office, and the Lutherans organized themselves in 1598, taking the "Formula Concordiæ" as the basis of their faith. Beythe remained the superintendent of the Reformed element until death (1612).

The "Formula Concordiæ" brought the sad consequence that everybody who did not sign it was excluded from the University of Wittenberg. Later the Hungarian Reformed youths went to the University of Heidelberg to increase their knowledge.

In the Hungarian territory which had been under Turkish dominion, the constructive minds of the Reformed Church were Stephen *Kiss* and *Skarica* his pupil and successor. Superintendent *Veresmarti,* agreeing with the latter, with his participation held the council of Herczegszöllös in 1576, where about forty ministers were present.

§ 13. *Disputes with the Unitarians.*

The Hungarian Reformed Church had scarcely attained an independent existence when a new peril menaced it. The anti-trinitarian doctrine was infiltrated into Hungary, promulgated especially by *Blandrata,* a physician to the court, a man of Italian origin. He gained the wavering and unsettled Dávid and, acting with him, developed zeal in the interest of Unitarianism.

But the Reformed also entered the lists with full force against the destructive movement. Professor *Károlyi* and

Bishop *Melius* took up the great combat against Dávid, who fought with transcending eloquence. At the council of Gyulafehérvár (1566), where the prince also was present, Melius won the victory. The prince conferred special honors upon him. But Dávid continued fighting with tongue and pen. Melius then convoked a council at Debreczen (1567), in which ministers of seventeen Trans- and Cistibiscan classes were present. Here the *Second Helvetic Confession* was adopted and in contrast with the Unitarians they declared their views with constant faith. The *Short Confession of the Ministers* (Brevis confessio pastorum) was published in Latin and in Hungarian.

The cohesion and organization of the Reformed manifested at the council at Debreczen was needed so much the more because in the meantime the young prince also was won over to Unitarianism. Joint debates were held at Gyulafehérvár for ten and at Nagyvárad for six days and the young prince closed the dispute with the declaration that in his country liberty was to be prevalent in every respect. From that time the Unitarians separated entirely from the Reformed and elected Dávid as their superintendent.

The ministers of the environs of Theis stood firm for the doctrines of Calvin. Melius held another council at Csenger in 1570 and invited also the pioneers of the Unitarians for a decisive combat. But neither Blandrata nor Dávid appeared. The council prepared a confession which is a forcible expression of the doctrines of Calvin and at the same time a protestation against Unitarianism. The Confession of Csenger was included also in the international collection of the Reformed confessions.

The Unitarians got stronger and stronger. The Diet of Marosvásárhely in 1571 declared the liberty of the Unitarian religion. Dávid did not stop with the Unitarian standpoint, but went to the limit of Judaism, and for it died in jail. His great rival, Bishop Melius died in 1572.

The Unitarians were fortunate in occupying space in the Turkish territory as well as in the Transdanubian district. But after a while their number decreased and they preserved themselves only in Transylvania and this is true of them to this time.

§ 14. *Confessional Consolidation of the Hungarian Church.*

Originally the Hungarian Protestant congregations—speaking the Hungarian, German and Slovak languages—adopted and followed the Confession of Augsburg, which was of great authority. But in 1610 the "Formula Concordiæ" was adopted.

In spite of this extravagant Lutheran confession, on the one hundredth anniversary of the Reformation the idea of uniting the two denominations was discussed. The "Irenicum" of *Pareus* was honored with a premium by Prince Bethlen and it was translated into Hungarian by his pupil *Samarjay* in 1628. But this ideal purpose was violently attacked by the Lutheran Letenyei and thus the hope of union struck upon a reef.

The Reformed followed first the Variant Confession of Augsburg. At the council of Debreczen (1567) the Second Helvetic Confession, moved by Melius and his companions, was adopted. The Reformed beyond the river Danube also accepted it at the council of Komjáth in 1623 and those along the Danube in 1642. At last the national council at Szathmárnémeti made it compulsory, and it became a common symbol of the Hungarian Church.

The Catechism of Heidelberg was first adopted at the great council of Debreczen (1567), which ordered that it be explained in the churches. The Reformed beyond the Danube acted likewise. The national council occurred at Szatmárnémeti made it compulsory for three districts.

The first Hungarian translation of the Catechism appeared at Papa in 1577, the second one at Debreczen in 1604. In 1616 pastor *Czene* made a translation of the Second Helvetic confession and it appeared at the cost of Lord-lieutenant *Rhédei;* Princess *Lorántfi* edited the same in 1654.

III. The Reformation in a Struggle for Existence; its Victory.

§ 16. *The Persecution of Protestantism in Hungary.*

The aggressive campaign of the Roman prelates against the Reformation began with Archbishop *Oláh,* who is called by Roman Catholic authors the savior of the Hungarian Catholic Church. At the council of *Nagyszombat* in 1560 he caused to be instituted a Roman Catholic confession of faith. He settled the Jesuits in Hungary (1561) and provided them with the revenues of two provostships. He commissioned visitors and gave them power to remove the Protestant pastors and teachers who had not been ordained by a Roman Catholic bishop. Many were summoned before the archbishop, and others were set before an inquisitory court; for instance Teacher Somogyi, who only after a long torture was released from the prison.

Verancsics, the bishop of Eger and commander of the fort, also set himself severely against the Protestants. He arrested four ministers in his vicinity and released them only under condition that they remove to a distance of one hundred miles from the city. He called upon the Protestants of the garrison to dismiss their pastors, and when they failed to do so he accused them of being associated with the Turks. The royal commissioners elicited the weakness of this charge. *Huszár,* the worthy and industrious reformer, also felt the persecuting power of the prelates.

Bishops *Draskovics* and *Telegdi* manifested a great fervency in defending the Roman Catholic faith. Telegdi pursued especially *Bornemisza,* the reformer and superintendent of Mátyusföld. Telegdi was exceeded in oppressing Protestantism by the powerful Draskovics, who as bishop and governor of Croatia stifled the Reformation with iron hands. He not only permanently settled the Jesuits, but secured the rich provostship of Turócz for them. As the royal commissioner, he ordered the common use of the Gregorian calendar and era.

The persecution reached its highest point at the time of Archbishop *Forgách,* who, being the apostate son of a Protestant lord, with the bigotry of a convert waged war against the Reformation. On his advice King Rudolf appointed General *Barbiano* the governor of Upper Hungary. He occupied the cathedral of *Kassa,* which had been for fifty years in the possession of the Protestants, with a military force, and surrendered it to the chapter of Eger. He drove the Protestant ministers from the city and forbade the Protestant worship. Those who set themselves against his order he imprisoned or laid under a contribution, and occupied the estates in the protesting city. In vain the delegates of Kassa applied to the king; they were not given an audience. Inquisition was ordered under the leadership of the violent *Szuhay,* bishop of Eger.

A similar policy was pursued by Provost *Pethe.* On the ground of a commission received from the king he drove the Protestant ministers out of the thirteen towns of the Zips. He occupied the Protestant churches and surrendered them to the Roman priests. Throughout the territory of the kingdom the persecution against liberty of conscience was everywhere the order of the day.

§ 17. *The Persecution of Protestantism in Transylvania.*

In Transylvania under the reign of the Roman Catholic *Báthoris* there was a stronger reaction against the Reformation. The diet of 1579 consented to the settlement of the Jesuits, and in 1581 they opened a high school at *Kolozsvár.*

The Jesuits, getting strong in Hungary also, secretly laid the scheme of uniting Transylvania with Hungary under the Hapsburgs and of restoring the golden age of the Roman Church on the ruins of Protestantism. This plan, which menaced the independence of Transylvania, came to light, and the Jesuits had to leave Transylvania. But soon they returned, dressed in the disguise of canons, and were successful in persuading Prince Sigismund to make alliance with King

Rudolph against the Turks. This step, too, was directed against the independence of Transylvania. The prince stifled the Protestant lords with slaughter. The lords, excited by the bloodshed, complied with the desire of the prince and set aside the former decrees against the Jesuits (1595). In the same year Sigismund surrendered Transylvania to King Rudolph and removed to the principality of Oppeln, which he received in exchange for Transylvania.

The harshest period ensued for Transylvania and for the Protestants. King Rudolph sent General *Básta* into Transylvania as a plenipotentiary, and he, surrounded by the Jesuits, and following their suggestions, became the hero of the period which has been called after his name. Even the fanatical king himself supported him in annihilating the Protestants. "We do not desire anything more zealously," he wrote in his letter to Básta, "than to extinguish the godless heresy from the country and to strengthen the orthodox Catholic faith." The Jesuits waited for the serenity of a golden age; the Protestants were secretly sighing for a saviour.

§ 18. *The First War for Religious Liberty.—Bocskay.*

Final destruction menaced the liberties of Hungary and Transylvania. The foreign and mercenary troops of Básta and Barbiano, by their spoliation, brought the people to beggary. These troops even desecrated the resting places of the dead.

The exasperation was increased in 1604 by the Diet of *Pozsony,* which not only failed to alleviate the injuries of the Evangelical lords, but inflicted new ones. When twenty-one articles were sent to the king for confirmation, he, in violation of the plain provisions of the constitution, added the twenty-second article. In his infamous article he declared that he hoped to recognize a flourishing Roman Catholic faith as the dominant religion also in Hungary, which was flooded by heresies. Therefore he renewed the laws ordered by all his predecessors against the Protestants. At the diet he marked

those who were disputing in religious matters as disquieting and disturbing elements. With this article the insult to the constitution reached its culminating point.

At this critical time arose the defender of religious and political liberties in the person of Stephen *Bocskay.* He was the captain and lord lieutenant of *Bihar* and was called upon to stand at the head of a movement inaugurated by Hungarians who had fled into the territory under Turkish dominion. Bocskay accepted the call and within a short time conquered the whole of Upper Hungary. He summoned a diet at *Szerencs* (1605), where the religious liberties both of the Roman Catholics and Protestants were declared and with enthusiasm Rocskay was elected prince of Hungary and Transylvania. The pasha of Buda, commissioned by the Sultan, offered him a crown and a political alliance. But he refused.

Grand Duke *Matthias,* brother of King Rudolph, perceiving that the interests of the dynasty were in peril, entered into negotiation through his delegates with Bocskay. After a long discussion the representatives of the parties came to an agreement in Vienna. The terms of the treaty were signed on June 23, 1606. It was the important *Peace of Vienna,* the fundamental scource of the liberty of the Hungarian Protestant Church. King Rudolph signed it unwillingly, and only at the request of Matthias; but the king pieced out the first article, concerning religion, with a clause according to which "the estates are allowed to have religious liberty in the royal and market towns, but without violence to the Roman Catholic religion." The original point of agreement being deprived of its essence by this clause, Bocskay sent it back without his signature. Then Matthias declared that the clause was not added because of unfriendly intention, and pointed out that it would be the duty of the next diet to resolve the difficulties.

In the same year Prince Bocskay convoked the diet at *Kassa.* At that time he was already sick unto death, but personally opened the diet. In his address he said: "The liberty

of our faith, conscience and old laws is to be estimated higher than gold." The estates accepted the terms of the agreement with the following important reservations: (1) The liberty of religion was to be extended to the villages also; (2) the clause "without violence to; etc.," was to be set aside; (3) the Jesuits were not allowed to live in the country, nor to have estates.

The prince, together with the estates, signed these decrees on December 22, 1606, and he died seven days later. He was poisoned by his secretary, whom the excited multitude massacred at the market of Kassa.

Bocskay was great in defeat as well as in success. The former did not shake him; the latter failed to carry him away. He was an excellent soldier, a wise diplomat and humble Christian. The achieving and securing of the religious liberties of the Hungarian Protestant Church are connected with his name.

After the death of Bocskay the king and those who were about him used every effort to prevent the legitimation of the agreement. The king appointed *Forgách,* the most stubborn enemy of Protestantism, to be archbishop of Esztergom, and the pope hurried to excite him to greater action with the hat of the cardinalate. "Better that Hungary perish than to have religious liberty," he used to say. At that time Grand Duke Matthias arose against his brother and compelled him to resign. The Diet of *Pozsony* (1608) enacted into law the first article of the peace of Vienna, and Matthias, who was elected king of Hungary, assented to the important appendix that the Protestants should be excepted from the supremacy of the Roman Catholic bishops and be placed under their own superintendents. In this article is the root of the Protestant autonomy.

§ 19. *The Strengthening of the Roman Catholic Party.*

The prelates protested against inscribing into the laws the Peace of Vienna, but Pope Paul V. went yet further in de-

claring by a brevet that the prelates were not obliged to hold to the law of 1608.

After the death of Forgács, the Jesuit *Pázmány* was appointed archbishop of Esztergom (1616). He was a son of Reformed parents and had been converted to the Roman faith in his thirteenth year. He was a pupil of *Bellarmin* and consented with *Khlesl,* bishop of Vienna, in uttering the dictum that "the divine power allows only one religion; Christ cannot have concord with Belial." Pázmány was a man of great genius and of distinguished education. He began with zeal the fanatical work of the Counter-Reformation. He issued orders to occupy the Protestant churches. "Better that the community perish, that the peasants leave it, than to let the Protestants have the churches," Pázmány used to say frequently. Directed by this principle, at the diet held in 1619 the Roman party succeeded in suppressing from the assuring letter of the king the clause that religious liberty was allowed, together with the use of the church buildings. According to the dangerous explanation of Pázmány, the religious liberty could not touch the right of the lords; therefore the Roman Catholic lords were entitled to drive out the preachers of the Gospel from the churches of the community and to put Roman priests into them. This theory became a new curse of the country.

The threat being dangerous the estates urged in vain to expel the Jesuits, who, however, remained, and their school at *Nagyszombat* was frequented by five hundred pupils, among them many Protestants. They lured and rewarded apostate Protestants with honorable positions, estates and dignities. As an author Pázmány reached a matchless effect with his polemic work, entitled, "The Guide to Truth."

In the face of numerous and forcible conversions the Protestants became desperate. During the thirty years' war *Ferdinand II.* was crowned king of Hungary by Pázmány. The young king had been a pupil of the Jesuits, and, imbued with the greatest fanaticism, in his youth he made a pilgrimage

to Loretto, to Mary's miracle-performing picture. Here he made a vow confirmed with oath that he would extinguish heresy from his country even with the peril of his own life. This vow he reaffirmed at Rome before the pope. He averred many times that he would be willing to end his life with the sword if he could abolish the heresy with his own life and if he could cause every subject to return into the Roman Catholic fold. From his hereditary provinces in Austria he banished the Protestants.

But he failed to manage Hungary so easily. In the beginning of his reign he convoked a diet in 1619, where he called on the states to take up arms for the suppression of the Bohemian revolution, which in spite of him gained strength. But the Protestants insisted upon the restoration of their churches. The palatine, on account of the hard times, forbade discussion of religious injuries, and Pázmány expressed himself as follows: "It were better that the country be given up to wolves and foxes than to heretics." The space between the two parties was not to be crossed over. The questions could be settled only by resort to arms and after the spilling of much blood.

§ 20. *The Second War for Religious Liberty—Bethlen.*

The oppressed Protestants applied to Gabriel *Bethlen,* prince of Transylvania, who hurried with a deep religious conviction and patriotic fervor to defend the religious and national liberties of the Hungarians. The Protestants of Upper Hungary, nearly all the people, enthusiastically joined the great movement whose motto was "the honor of God and the liberty of the nation." The troops of Bethlen went quickly forward. The town of *Pozsony* and the palatine did homage to him, and the crown of the country went into his possession. The diet convened in 1620 ordered religious liberty. Further, it was added that the principal church should be in the possesion of that denomination to which the majority of the community belonged, and that defenders of religion should be elected. The Jesuits were banished from the country.

In the meantime the war went on. The king, being in straitened circumstances, at last entered into negotiation with Bethlen. But agreement was impossible because Bethlen wanted to include in the peace his Bohemian and Moravian allies and the delegates of the king protested and went away.

The break being complete, Bethlen was elected king of Hungary. He accepted the crown, but, knowing the instability of fortune, with foresight he postponed the coronation. However, he confirmed the laws. A favorable turn now set in for the Roman party. The Bohemians were defeated by the troops of King Ferdinand II. at the siege of Weissenberg (1621). Thus peace was concluded between Bethlen and Ferdinand II., at *Nikolsburg* on December 31, 1621. The terms of the peace of Vienna were confirmed. The country did not gain new rights, but the old ones were maintained in their integrity by Bethlen, who was acknowledged by Ferdinand II. as "prince of the Holy Roman Empire." Later he was compelled twice to take up arms to defend the constitution and Protestantism.

Bethlen was great as a commander,—he was victorious forty-four times,—righteous as a prince, and tolerant and magnanimous as a man. He was tenacious of his Reformed religion,—he read through the Bible twenty-six times,—but did not persecute those following other creeds. In his country the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Anabaptists and the Jews enjoyed undisturbed religious liberty. He respected the missionary and literary zeal of the Jesuits also. He helped ten schools, founded a Reformed college at *Gyulafehérvár* and called in scholars of great fame from abroad.

Bethlen died in his forty-ninth year (1629). He endured a long sickness with wonderful resignation and with an unmovable trust in God. In his last hour, when he could not talk, he noted down these biblical words: "If God be for us, who can be against us? Nobody; certainly nobody."

§ 21. *The Third War for Religious Liberty—Rákóczi I.*

After the death of Bethlen, Archbishop *Pázmány* and Palatine *Eszterházy* continued the Counter-Reformation more ardently than ever. Many lords, following their example, renewed the persecution of the Protestants. The new king, *Ferdinand III.,* followed in the old steps. After the death of Pázmány (1637) he appointed *Lósi* to be archbishop. Lósi in turn donated estates to the Jesuits. He even surrendered them the Protestant church of *Nagyszombat.*

Under such circumstances began the Diet of *Pozsony* in 1637. The Protestants desired relief, but the palatine flatly declared that he could not give back the churches at all, and the peasants were compelled to follow the religion of their lord. Then the Protestant estates appealed to the king. The royal reply declared this proceeding of the Protestants to be unusual and illegal. Finally the royal document refused to take cognizance of the religious injuries.

The discontented Hungarians hoped again for assistance from Transylvania to improve their position. Here George *Rákóczi I.* sat on the throne of the princes. He was a worthy successor of Bethlen, whom he held as his example. He was a wise, energetic governor, a Reformed prince of matchless zeal and of rare piety. His motto was: "Non est currentis, neque volentis, sed miserentis Dei" (Rom. 9: 16). As Bethlen had done, he went with preachers and Bibles everywhere. He was the shelter and bulwark of his church.

After he had captured Upper Hungary and his troops, united with those of *Forstenson,* the glorious Swedish commander, had menaced the hereditary provinces in Austria, the terrified Ferdinand III. showed himself inclined to conclude a peace. Thus came into existence the *Peace of Linz* in 1645.

According to this peace, (1) everybody was to follow his religious conviction freely and without impediment, and was to have the use of the church buildings, bells and cemeteries; (2) religious liberty was to be extended also to the peasants, whom the lords were not allowed to compel to observe other cere-

monies; (3) the Protestant ministers were not to be banished; (4) the taking of the churches was to be stopped; (5) the transgressors of the laws concerning religion were to be punished. It was made the duty of the next diet to settle the other questions and enact laws concerning religion. All this happened at the Diet of Pozsony in 1646. When the archbishop protested against the articles, the king confirmed them with a clause as follows: "The objection of the Roman clergy and Roman Catholic laical persons will not be taken into consideration, but will be invalid."

George Rákóczi I. died several days previous to the peace of Westphalia. Hungarian Protestantism reached the culmination of its political power during the reigns of Bethlen and Rákóczi.

IV. Church Government.

§ 22. *The Origin of the Ecclesiastical Districts.*

The Reformed Church of Hungary at the present time is divided into five ecclesiastical districts, each being headed by a bishop (sometimes called superintendent). The history of the origin of the districts may be stated briefly as follows:

1. *Transtibiscan District.*—A beginning was made in 1554 by the council of *Ovár.* Originally it included both Lutherans and Reformed. The strict Reformed district was organized in 1562 and *Melius* was its first bishop.

2. *Transylvania District.*—The first district in Transylvania was organized in 1553. It was Lutheran and Saxon. The first bishop of the Hungarian Lutherans was *Dávid* in 1556. But after he was converted to Calvinism he resigned. He became the first bishop of the separated Reformed district in 1564. When he again changed his religion (1567) the Reformed remained for a while without a bishop, but from 1577 the Transylvania district became permanent, with which the Hungarian Lutherans also were afterward identified.

3. *Cistibiscan District.*—Originally the congregations in this territory did not elect a bishop, but organized into four

deaneries (classes) governed by deans, and the organization was called "unio inter quattuor dioceses." In 1648 a permanent president was elected. But the united classes held back from the episcopal government as late as 1735, when *Szentgyörgyi* was the first bishop.

4. *Cisdanubian District.*—In this territory two superintendencies existed formerly. About 1570 they were united and *Veresmarti* was elected bishop.

5. *Transdanubian District.*—This was formed from two bishoprics: (1) The bishopric of *Rába.* Its first superintendents governed the Lutherans and Reformed. In 1612 *Pathai* was elected bishop of the separated Reformed district. He was the first who organized consistories according to the example of the churches of the Pfalz; (2) the bishopric of *Mátyusföld.* Here, too, the Lutherans and Reformed were together. The Reformed district was organized in 1616, while *Czene* was the bishop.

§ 23. *The Presbyterial Movement.*

In the beginning only the congregations of Upper Hungary were attached to the polity of the Genevan Church. The others were under episcopal reign.

The news of the fight in England against Episcopacy reached Hungary and *Szilvásujfalvi,* professor, later pastor and dean of *Nagyvárad* first arose against the polity of the bishops (1608). He asserted that there was no need of bishops; that the episcopal office led to hierarchy. On account of his views he was declared "a disturber and innovator." The council of *Nagyvárad* removed him from office and on request of Bishop *Hodászi* a jury consisting of ecclesiastical and laical persons sentenced him to jail. He suffered in prison till Prince Bethlen mitigated his sentence to exile.

But not long after, the presbyterial movement was aroused again with full force. Its head was *Tolnai.* He went to study at Franekera and here was the pupil of *Amesius.* Thence, together with ten Hungarian students, he went over

to England, where the Scotch Presbyterians under the leadership of *Cromwell* fought against the Roman Catholics and Protestant Episcopalians. Tolnai and his companions formed a union at London (1638), with the purpose of realizing the presbyterial form of government in Hungary.

In the meantime under the influence of the foreign movements, it was decided by the councils in Hungary that the youth returning from abroad must take an oath that they would not introduce innovations in ceremonies, confessions and government without the consent of a general council (1638).

After six years of study Tolnai returned from abroad and held back from taking the oath. As professor and dean he drew to himself a great party. At the council of *Tokaj* (1646) he was accused and appealed his case to Prince Rákóczi I., who convoked a national council at *Szatmárnémeti* on June 10, 1646, of which the president was Bishop *Geleji* of Transylvania. Here Tolnai was found guilty and was removed from office, together with his eight fellow ministers. Then thirty decreees were passed in order to defend the authority and rights of the episcopal polity. Further, Geleji was commissioned to draw up ecclesiastical laws for the strengthening of the church government. So came into existence the one hundred canons of Geleji, which were inspired by the principles of moderate episcopal government. Geleji acknowledged the right of the presbyteries, but he did not hold that their organization would be apposite to the times. The prince and those who were around him did not sympathize with Presbyterianism, because the revolution of Cromwell beheaded King Charles I. and abolished the kingship. The constitution of the estates was also unfavorable to the democratic principles. Presbyterianism was known in Hungary as the "English spleen."

After the death of Tolnai, *Medgyesi,* minister of *Sárospatak,* took up the flag of Presbyterianism. He edited a work on "Elders governing the Church" (1650), defended the presbyterial government in contrast with the episcopal form, and

suggested the idea of double presidency (clerical and laical) to counterbalance the hierarchy. But the councils removed two pastors who had taken the side of Medgyesi, and by the civil magistracy put them in jail (1655). The ministers recanted and were set at liberty.

Thus Presbyterianism was practically suppressed in Hungary. After the death of Prince *George Rákóczi II.* under the weight of the blows which fell upon the country and Protestantism, the Reformed Church had to struggle for its existence. The internal controversies were dropped, that all might take up the war against the common enemy. Thus the government of the bishops was fortified.

(*To be continued.*)

III.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH CHURCHES.

BY LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON.

I.

The opening chapter of the Separation Law, which sets forth its principles, begins thus:

Article First. The Republic assures liberty of conscience. It guarantees the free exercise of public worship (*des cultes**) under the sole restrictions hereinafter set forth in the interests of public order.

This is a very marked advance upon the condition of things until then prevailing. Up to the passage of this law there was no liberty of public worship without the previous permission of the local government. Any communal mayor might prevent the holding of an extra or irregular service. The great advantage that the McAll mission has always had over the churches is that its boats have had, so to speak, a blanket permit from the central government, covering all times and places, and from a very early day this mission, founded immediately after the downfall of the Commune, not being a church nor connected with any church, and evidently making for local order, enjoyed certain special privileges.†

Furthermore, up to the passage of this article it has been illegal to hold religious services elsewhere than in a church,

* Recent French writers have in vain sought an exact definition of the word *culte*, including, as it does, the idea of public worship, and the idea of a Church as the embodiment of a belief, a mode of worship, a principle of organization.

† "Go where you will," said the Prefect of the Seine to Mr. M'All in 1873, "establish as many stations as you please, for I have found that wherever you open a mission station, there I need fewer policemen."

temple, chapel or synagogue. To lend a room for a parlor or cottage meeting, or a barn for a revival service, was until December 9, 1905, a state's prison offence, *even if the meeting had been authorized,* and although the breach of this law has long been overlooked, there is no knowing how soon a radical government might not have made it effective, but for this article.

The second article of this chapter begins with a sentence which has probably been more often quoted since its introduction into the Chamber of Deputies than any other in the language, however classic. "The Republic neither recognizes, nor salaries, nor subventions any church (*culte*)." It goes on to decree the suppression of the budgets of public worship, state, departmental and communal, and of payment of any expenses relative to the exercise of religion. A notable concession to religion is made, however, by laying upon state, departmental and communal budgets the salaries of chaplains, and all other expenses requisite to secure the free exercise of worship in such public establishments as high schools, colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums and prisons—such worship having been suppressed by law not many years ago.

In reporting this bill M. Briand recognized that notwithstanding the minute care of the committee it would need to be amended, and urged that amendment should always lean toward liberality. As a matter of fact, this has invariably been the case. The law is far less drastic, far more considerate of the religious sentiment, than the bill that was introduced into the Chamber.

The law affirms the duty of public officials to secure to every one liberty of conscience. The state is neutral, but well wishing; lay, but the protector of believers. It ignores the various forms of worship and church government; the churches henceforth neither enjoy privileges nor lie under official obligations. This fact came home to the Protestants, to whom as to all Frenchmen official rank is dear, when last New Year's Day for the first time the pastors of Paris received no invitation to

the Elysée palace. Till this year they had attended upon public functions as officials of State, being next in rank to cardinals and archbishops and equal to bishops.

This bill, after stout debate, was passed in a spirit of deep seriousness. As the work had progressed the Deputies appeared more and more to feel the gravity of their task. The final result was a law relatively good, generally acceptable, and in some particulars large and liberal. Many particulars which seem contrary to the full liberty of the churches, such as that which gives (Article XXI.) to the Registry Administration and the General Inspection of Finances the right of control (inspection) of the finances of religious associations and unions, are due to actual conditions or to conditions recently changed, but which continue to influence the public mind.

The passage of this law was no doubt the bravest act in the history of the Third Republic. A hundred and sixteen years before, the Revolution had tried to do the same thing, had laid down the principles of separation of Church and State, and for a brief moment had actually put them in force; but the progress of the Revolution soon swept away all religion. Under Napoleon I. the Church was bridled by the State, under the Restoration, as a French writer has recently said, the Church was wedded to the State; under the Second Empire it once again and more than ever became subject, absolutely in the hands of the Emperor. At last the Republic has cut the Gordian knot.

During all these hundred and sixteen years, therefore, an epic struggle has been raging in France, which has yet to find its Homer. The battle between the future and the past, between Absolutism personified in the Bourbon line, in the Bonaparte family, and in a monarchical conception of the Church, and Liberty embodied in the principles of the Revolution and the ever-growing passion for religious freedom, have been joined in battle all these years. The struggle has been fierce and bloody, now one side and now the other has won

temporary triumph, but until last December no decisive victory had been won. Even the establishment of the Third Republic was not a decisive victory, for the leaders were slow to discover the permanent character of their work, the might of the popular will. Not until the abolition of the Concordat and the Separation of Church and State on December 6, 1905, was anything like permanent advance achieved. This is not the end, but it is the beginning of the end. First of all the nations of Europe France has emancipated the human soul: religion has ceased to be a function of government. As yet, like Lazarus called forth from the tomb, the soul of France is fettered with its grave clothes. It may be long before they are quite unloosed, and the soul set perfectly free: but of one thing we may be sure: in this as in all things else, France will not be content to stop short of perfection. Before all peoples of the world France is consumed with the thirst of the ideal. The passion for truth is in the very fiber of its being. Light-hearted, volatile, frivolous as the French people appear upon the surface, cheerful as their own sunny climate, and with a marvellous capacity for recovery from disaster or calamity, the French character is at bottom one of indomitable tenacity, of deep and terrible earnestness, which is only redeemed from the dark bigotry to which such qualities naturally tend, by that love of truth and of freedom which every page of their history shows.

The very hold of the Roman Catholic Church upon this people, the romantic loyalty of this Eldest Daughter of the Church to the Holy See, were largely due, as Laveleye acutely pointed out, to her passion for truth. Rome spoke to her with the voice of authority and she listened with eager hope to find that truth for which her soul panted. The defeat of this hope drove many of the French people into scepticism, mysticism, *flirtage avec le divin* as Professor Barrés called the spiritualistic vagaries of the ninth decade of the century, atheism—yet all these are but the " other side out " of idealism. The sanctions of French conduct are always ideal—glory, fame, a prin-

ciple, rather than material profit, money and the advantages that money will buy.

This idealism explains the conduct of the French people, Catholic as well as Protestant, since the enactment of the law —the dissensions in the Protestant Synod, the Catholic resistance to the inventory of religious property. Like the Athenians, but far more seriously, the French people are "excessively religious." The author of the Epistle to the Romans precisely describes them: they have a zeal for God but not according to knowledge. With them religion and politics are one. From the days of Charlemagne to the founding of the Third Republic all their religious questions were political; since then all their political questions have been religious. There is no other state in the world to-day where religion is so essentially the dominant concern as it is in France.

In judging of the significance of the event which took place on the ninth of last December it is first of all important to recognize that neither that law, nor its predecessor, the Associations law, was motived by a spirit of hostility to religion. Both measures are not only essentially measures of liberty, precisely in line with the advance of humanity, they are also the outcome of the most profound religious reverence, reverence for the rights of the human conscience.

Nor was this measure, as many writers insist, due to the iniquities of the Roman Catholic Church: the French mind is too perspicacious not to appreciate the great debt of civilization to the Roman Catholic Church. Catholicism saved Europe in the Middle Ages, and without her fostering care, much that is noblest and most formative in the thought of that period would have been lost. The Church has indeed made many blunders, and the mistakes of an infallible church are almost crimes, but it is not these that have brought about the separation of Church and State in France. This measure is the inevitable result of an irresistible current of opinion, a current which has swept over Italy, is making itself strongly felt in Switzerland and Austria, and is by no means feeble in

Germany and Great Britain. In this, as in so many things of the spirit, France simply takes the lead, in the endeavor so to turn this current as to make it sweep away all that hinders the emancipation of the human conscience.

It was no new thing when Napoleon I. established a concordat between the French State and the Holy See. There have been concordats all along the centuries. The desire for temporal power ideally held by the Roman hierarchy is entirely spiritual: it seeks for temporal power and material privileges simply as a means to the great end for which the Christian Church exists—the refashioning the earth after the Christian conception, the ideal City of God. But the inevitable tendency, among all but the most saintly and devoted minds, is to stop short with the temporal advantages of any condition of things; and hence by degrees came those encroachments of the Church upon the authority of states which reached their climax in Pope Hildebrand, with the corresponding submission of temporal rulers personified in Frederic Barbarossa. Four hundred years ago France, in which the instinct of freedom has from the earliest ages been indomitable, took upon itself to make distinct the boundary between the temporal and the spiritual power of the Church. The first Concordat, signed in 1510 between Francis I. and Pope Leo X., was the first step toward that separation of Church and State of which not the last, but thus far the most decisive step, was taken in the law of last December.

The law then promulgated is crude, as all pioneer laws must be. It will be revised, reworked, perfected by succeeding legislatures; and it depends entirely upon the conduct of the Christian people of France whether the first amendments shall be a genuine improvement along the line of religious liberty, or another of those reversions toward anti-religious despotism which the history of human progress shows not to be abnormal. If the advice of the Abbé Hemmer could be followed, and all branches of Christianity in France unite to watch over the interests of religion in a spirit of true liberty

and large recognition, each of the others' qualities, continuous advance would follow as surely as the night the day. But divided counsels in both Catholicism and Protestantism seem to forbid the immediate realization of such a program.

Here it is necessary to recall to mind that Protestantism is not an exotic on the soil of France. France is its birthplace, and its early home. Five years before Luther nailed up his theses Lefévre, professor in the Sorbonne, had clearly proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith. For a few years the prospect was that Protestantism would become the dominant religion. The Court and the nobles professed it, the common people welcomed it; but political considerations prevailed, and in 1533 France made the choice that has cost her so dear in tears and blood.*

The principle of the Concordat or contract between Church and State, which was established in the 16th century, was not admitted by the Church of Rome without a struggle. It became, however, a fact, and the tendency has ever since been more and more to limit the temporal privileges of the clergy, and to confine the Church more and more to the spiritual domain. However this tendency may have been opposed by the clergy at large, the brightest and most devout minds in the Church have always recognized it to be the true order of things. The Fénélons, the Lacordaires, the Montalemberts, the Cardinal Darboys of the past, not to mention the brilliant leaders of the new Catholicism of to-day, the Abbés Loisy, Klein, Hemmer, the Counts de Mun and d'Haussonville, have always been perspicacious to see that temporal power is in fact a drag upon the true functions and the expansive power of the Church; the paradox being notably true that the more profound and far-reaching the spiritual influence of the Church the more profound and far-reaching must be, in the

* Here let me explain that although Protestants decline to concede to the "Papal" church a monopoly of the title Catholic, and adherents of that church in America are entirely content, as Archbishop Corrigan once told me, to be known as Roman Catholics, yet in France the legal name of that church is Catholic, and so it is here called.

very nature of things, its influence upon temporal institutions, laws, governments, and even property.

The Catholic religion, however, remained the religion of the French State, the Concordats had no other conception of things. Its organization constituted an arm of the State parallel with all other public organs of function. Theoretically and logically, therefore, heresy was contrary to the rights of the monarch, because the functions of the Church of Rome were exercised *in the name of the State.* But there is no intelligent Catholic, in any country, least of all in France, who does not recognize that, theory and logic notwithstanding, his Church owes a debt to Protestantism for its purely spiritual conception that religion as a sphere of human activity is entirely divested of any temporal purpose. From the proclamation of religious liberty in the French Revolution, as one of the foremost Catholic writers said last summer, the idea of a purely lay society, acting in the purely material, political and social domain, took more and more distinct form.

Thence arose by degrees the notion of religion as of public utility. The philosophers who in the 18th century exercised so strong and so formative an influence upon the development of modern France were in the main infidels: that is, they were skeptics, adherents of neither the Catholic nor the Protestant Church: but they were nearly a unit in believing that as a branch of the public service the established Church (Catholic) was a necessity. It was the French Revolution, however, with all those outstanding horrors which to the foreign mind —never, however, to the mind of France—obscure the enormous debt which that country owes to it,—it was the Revolution which gave to France its modern conception of society, and which put into legislative form this idea of the public utility of religion.

It performed the act most awkwardly: the atrocities of the Ancient Order, in which, most unhappily and yet inevitably, the Catholic Church had had a share, had so maddened and blinded the common people that they were unable to think of

the Church apart from that doctrine of the divine right to which the agonies of past generations had been due. In the nature of things, indeed, the two were for the time indistinguishable, and it has been the fatal blunder of the Catholic Church in France, clearly recognized by the best minds in that Church, that ever since the Revolution it has identified itself with this doctrine, has made itself a political power, espoused a political party, and sought to stem the current of modern progress by the determined, and as ill-judged as determined, policy of breaking up the Republic and of restoring the Bourbon house, or as a last resort, the Napoleonic dynasty, to the throne of France. To this capital error of judgment must be attributed, in the last analysis, the drastic character of the Associations' law of 1901 and the infractions of true liberty found in the Separation law of 1905.

The Church has always repudiated the principles of the French Revolution, and this is a mistake which the French people cannot forgive.

It is impossible thoroughly to understand the history of France without a vivid realization of the intense allegiance of the French people to the principles of the Revolution. By this standard every man and every measure are tested. This explains the loyalty of the people to a republican form of government. Republican America is far from understanding or appreciating the enthusiasm for the Republic as France feels it.

The Revolution, notwithstanding its desecration of churches, murder of priests, and temporary mad worship of Reason, recognized, then, the value of religion as a branch of the public service. Napoleon I., with his marvellous genius for organization, established the principle upon a foundation which, with one brief interval, stood firm for a hundred years. With personal religion the First Consul had no concern: he would have established Buddhism or Fetishism had either served his purpose. And so, while signing the Concordat with Pius VII., which made the Catholic Church practically the re-

ligion of the State because actually it was the religion of nearly all the citizens, he was careful in the "organic articles" by which the Concordat was enforced, to recognize three other churches as on a parity in civil standing with the Church of Rome, because equally of public utility, as the religions of some French citizens. These were the Jewish Church and the two branches of Protestantism,—Lutheran and Calvinistic,—the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches. Subsequently, with the colonial expansion of France, the nature of the organic articles made Islam a State religion without farther legislation: but as the Separation Law is not, as yet, applicable to Algeria and the colonies, this fact need not detain us.

There was this difference between three of the "recognized" churches, and the fourth. The Reformed, Lutheran and Jewish Churches were simply ruled by the common law; the Catholic both by this law and by contract between the State and the head of the Church. Out of this distinction has arisen a large proportion of the difficulties and perplexities of the past, and especially of the present, relations between Church and State. There was no political power to enforce the organic articles in the case of the three extra-concordatorial religions, and it was easy for a Roman Catholic monarch to make them nugatory, so far as these religions were concerned: but their common law rights remained intact, though not capable of enforcement, so long as the Concordat prevailed; and conversely, in its abrogation, they are obliged to come under such limitations as the State believes to be essential to self-preservation in the case of the Catholic Church. Being more or less Republican in their organization, they are in harmony with the principles of the Republic and offer it no menace which requires them to be fettered, yet it is impossible to make any exception in their favor, when so limiting the autonomy of the monarchical Catholic Church as to render it innocuous to the State. The Protestant and Jewish churches perfectly understand this condition and recognize its necessity.

The Catholic Church, then, was in a condition of special privilege by reason of the Concordat. On one condition only, however, could this state of privilege remain active: namely, that the French Government and the Pope should continue of one mind. It was because this condition no longer existed that the separation between Church and State has occurred.

Under the First Napoleon there was no friction of moment between France and Apostolic See, because everything had been arranged to the Emperor's mind, and he was too powerful to be opposed. The Pope, indeed, protested strongly against the organic articles, but he did not repudiate the contract, and his protest fell on deaf ears. With the return of the Bourbons, passionately loyal Catholics, the Church had, in some sort, its revenge; and here it made that political blunder of which we see the result. Instead of using royal favor to develop its own liberties, it embraced the reactionary program of the Bourbons, who sought to replace everything as it had been under the Old Régime. To this, the people, who had had a taste of liberty under the First Republic, would not willingly consent, and thus was intensified that disaffection to monarchical institutions and to a hierarchical Church, which after long years culminated in the law of last December.

The monarchy felt the popular reaction much sooner than the Church, which was undisturbed by the Revolution of July and the change to the Orleans Family in 1830. During the brief second Republic, for a few short months the Churches were free of the State, but only to fall again under the Concordat and the organic articles of 1802, when the *coup d'etât* made Louis Napoleon emperor.

From 1850 to 1870 the Catholic Church was again in power, the Third Napoleon understanding its usefulness as a weapon of public utility, and the Empress being devoted to it with a loyalty of which the Bourbons knew nothing. Unhappily the Empress did not put herself under the tutelage of the best minds in the Church. Had Lacordaire or Montalembert been Eugénie's spiritual director—they whose

watchword, like that of the Protestant Vinet, was "the Church free in a free State," the conscientious reaction against all religion which nobly expressed itself in the life and writings of a Taine, a Renan, a Victor Hugo, and its worst effects in the murder of the good archbishop Darboy and the fusillading of the French priests under the Commune, would not have been.

It should never be ignored by intelligent thinkers that the wildest excesses of the French Revolution, the most atrocious acts of the Commune, were in their initiative acts of conscience and loyalty,—or rather, the loyal revolt of right-minded men who would no longer tolerate an imposed religion, but whose free thought was not anti-religious in the popular acceptance of the word, met a fearful response in the acts of multitudes maddened by oppression and cheated by a religion which they had come to look upon as an instrument of oppression.

But 1871 was not 1793, and France had learned wisdom. The Commune became the Provisional Republic, and the Catholic Church of France resumed its functions, only, alas! to repeat the mistake of entering the political arena. Tenacious of the doctrine of divine right, and the monarchical theory of government, it has never ceased, from that day to this, to enter actively into Bourbon and Napoleonic intrigues, and later to ally itself with socialistic and anarchistic foes of the existing order.

From the very beginning of things the Gallican Church has always made the mistake of being more catholic than the Pope. The successor of Peter, whatever his name, has found no difficulty with an unestablished Church in America and Great Britain, and made no outcry when a few years ago Brazil disestablished the Church. There are no more brilliant men of letters, no more pious and devoted parish ministers, no more gifted educators, in the Catholic world than among the bishops, cardinals, parish priests and monks of France; but politically, the French hierarchy has blundered from first to last. Had it not meddled after the Franco-

Prussian war the Duke of Orleans would perhaps to-day be king of France. Thiers, the free-thinking President of the Third Republic, regarded his own government as merely provisional, and fully expected to restore the monarchy; Marshal MacMahon, his successor, a thoroughgoing monarchist, would fain have seen Henri V. upon the throne; but the people wanted liberty, wanted a constitution. A word from the confessor of the Count de Chambord would have made him Henri V.: but that word was not spoken: the Church upheld the natural intransigeance of the Bourbon: he refused to lay down the white flag and accept the tricolor, the emblem of civil and religious freedom, and the Third Republic became an established fact.

Unfortunately for the people of France they are profoundly aware that the Catholic Church is not, never has been, in accord with the spirit or the fundamental laws of the Republic. This want of conformity vitiates even its religious functions, and gives to all its external activities—education, benevolences,—a quality of struggle, of self-seeking, which makes it a menace to the State by destroying its necessary equilibrium.

Meanwhile, what of Protestantism?

After two centuries of persecution and suppression it was too nearly dead to revive at once when Napoleon I. reaffirmed its existence and nominally freed it from persecution. Under Bourbons and Bonapartes, though it made marvellous spiritual progress, its civil rights were ignored, and so they continued to be for some years after the fall of the Empire. The disabilities and vexatious injustices, little and great, which they suffered were almost innumerable, and in so enlightened a state, incomprehensible. In liberal, republican France in 1873 no Protestant could expect as a matter of course to bury his dead in a consecrated cemetery; the privilege was his only on sufferance, permission being grudgingly granted, perhaps after five, ten, twenty days of incessant siege of the tribunals. Until 1878 it was a state's prison offence to make a convert from any religion to any other. This law had always been a

dead letter in the case of Catholics but not in that of Protestants. It often was and at any time might be enforced where a Catholic went over to Protestantism. Even up to the passage of the Separation law of last December it was an offence punishable with fine and imprisonment to hold religious meetings in any private house, *even with the permission of the proper authorities.* Such laws are unduly restrictive of the rights of man, and especially onerous in the case of a church the very genius of which is social, and which was making marked progress among the poorer peasantry, who yet were unable to provide themselves with religious edifices. Until the passage of the Separation law the State had the right to supervise the doctrines taught in churches, to make sure that they corresponded with the standards deposited with the government. The Bishops have been supported by this law in dealing with their parish priests who have felt the influence of "Americanism" or of the "new movement" of thought in French Catholicism. Père Didon suffered under it a generation ago, and the Abbé Loisy in recent years.

The most intolerant laws were repealed in 1878–1882, but the situation remained a difficult one, more especially in the case of Protestantism.

The law which forbade ecclesiastics to leave their dioceses without permission of the government worked comparatively little injury to Catholics, they being sufficiently numerous for concerted action within their territorial limits, and having a bond of union in the Roman hierarchy. But to the Protestants, thinly scattered over a wide territory—to this day there are departments containing only from one hundred to three hundred Protestants of all ages,—this limitation was fatal to any sense of union as to any concerted action. With no ecclesiastical head, and forbidden to meet in synods or assemblies, each church, each individual in many cases, was left to live—or die—alone. For seventy years, from 1802 to 1872, the Reformed and Lutheran churches had no autonomy, no government, no means of association or of fostering that sense of

unity which is necessary to large activity. Few even of intelligent Protestants knew the constitution of their own Church. Yet in 1818 the Bible Society was founded, in 1822 the Foreign Missionary and Tract Societies, in 1833 the Evangelical Society, to care for the religious weal of the *disséminés* —the scattered Protestants; these societies in the nature of things being conducted chiefly by laymen. In 1844 representatives of all Protestant denominations met in Lyons "to demonstrate and affirm Christian union in all the Churches," and laid the foundations of a movement which four years later, in London, became the Evangelical Alliance. But while there were many men of intelligence and nobility of character among French Protestants—a Guizot, a Waddington, a Pressensé, a Bersier, a Freycinet—they were too few in number to exercise a marked influence upon the nation.

The political perspicacity by which in 1885 or '86 anti-clerical free thought found in Protestantism a weapon against ultramontane politics certainly strengthened it, if only by making known its existence, entirely ignored in many parts of the country. At this time and for some years longer, the law which required every man's "papers" to show his religious affiliation was still in force, the absence of the "act of baptism" or of circumcision invalidating them, and change from one religion to another being still illegal, although always, as has been said, condoned in the case of a convert to Catholicism. The abrogation of this law, enabling thousands of "non-practicing" Catholics to free themselves from galling bonds, by a natural reaction swelled the ranks of free thought and gave more strength to anti-clericalism; but Francisque Sarcey, militantly anti-clerical, urged all such, of whatever shade of indifferentism, to register as Protestants. To a certain extent this counsel was followed. The free-thinking Taine willed to be buried by Protestant rite, rather than by a civil funeral, desiring not only to avoid being ranked among enemies of religion, but chiefly to register in this way his conviction that in Protestantism resided France's best hope of

liberty. Such methods, if widely carried out, would have lowered the tone of the Reformed Church, and the virulent anti-Protestant campaign, by which after the Dreyfus *affaire* the Catholic Church took its reprisals, was rather an advantage to it than otherwise, by awakening the Reformed Church to self-consciousness and a sense of solidarity.

It had been the pride of France that there had never been any "Jewish question" within its territory. The Dreyfus affair changed all that. Into the merits of that affair it is needless to enter, but because of its after effects it is necessary to allude to it here. The *affaire* was an important factor in a desperate attempt to overthrow the Republic and restore the monarchy, an attempt into which the Catholic church unfortunately threw the whole weight of its influence. Then arose that fierce anti-clerical reaction of which Gambetta twenty years before had given the watchword. The mind of the French people had marvellously changed within that period, and now, with fiery indignation it was perceived that the minds not only of the young army officers during their education at St. Cyr, but of all the young, were being systematically poisoned with teachings hostile to the Republic; and Separation of Chruch and State became inevitable.

The Falloux law, initiated under the Second Republic, but not becoming a law until after the *coup d'étât,* had made primary instruction free, that is, not subject to the supervision of the State. It was under the protection of this law that the congregational schools made their great development, gradually covering also the field of secondary education, and finally bringing the majority of the children and youth of France under clerical influence. The reaction against this condition found its ultimate expression in the Associations Law. The Dreyfus affair having turned public attention to this subject, it was discovered that more than three-fifths of all primary and more than two-fifths of all secondary education was being carried on in "congregational" schools, and that the proportion was annually increasing in the rate of eleven to seven. The

Congregations were communities of monks and nuns which had made remarkable growth in France within the last half century, were not included in the Concordat nor were under the authority of the French bishops, but were directly subject to the pope. Their influence and activities were reprobated by the majority of the bishops and the entire body of parish priests—partly no doubt because they were able to divert into their own coffers a large proportion of the contributions that would otherwise have come to the secular clergy. Within a generation the Congregations had enormously increased in numbers, and had grown immensely wealthy, both in landed and personal property. It was not, however, their wealth that first excited popular indignation, but their teachings. Their schools and their text-books, being not subject to government inspection, nor to that of the bishops, were found, when inquired into, to be deliberately false to history, directly subversive of loyalty to the established order, and openly hostile to the State. Especially was this the case with the Assumptionist order, under which cloak the exiled Jesuits—seventy times exiled from various European governments—had returned to France in enormous numbers, and who openly proclaimed their intention to overthrow the Republic and restore the royal or imperial monarchy. To this end their newspaper, *La Croix,* published in Paris, with a local edition in nearly every department of France, and widely circulated under pain of various penalties, was an important adjunct.

Under these conditions M. Waldeck-Rousseau took the power in 1899. He at once resolved to check the very disquieting development of the Congregations. The repeal of the Falloux law, which was an important part of his plan, though it caused immense excitement in France, attracted little attention in foreign countries, being overshadowed by the more picturesque and dramatic interest of the *Law of July 1, 1901,* otherwise known as the Associations Law.

The enactment of this law has wholly done away with the precedent situation. Its immediate effect upon the monks and

nuns has quite obscured the far more important results which French society as a whole has reaped from it. Article 294 of the Penal Code (Napoleon) forbade the existence of any association of more than 23 persons for whatever purpose. The law of July 1 abrogates this article. It removes all restrictions from associations, whatever their number or object, provided this be not contrary to law or good morals. No restriction is laid upon the amount of property held by any association, except that it must all subserve the purpose of the association—for example, no secret fund may be formed for political purposes if the avowed object of the Association is other than political. No public declaration of the existence of the Association is required, nor the filing of any papers, unless it purposes to possess property, real or personal. In this case it must declare its existence, laws, objects, and the names of its administrators—a proceeding practically equivalent to incorporation. Upon this mere declaration an Association acquires civil personality, may acquire or alienate property, and has the right to public justice.

This measure, it must be remembered, with the repeal of the Falloux law, was not the act of a radical government nor an anti-clerical majority. M. Waldeck-Rousseau was a Moderate Republican, and his Cabinet was chiefly composed of Moderates, "practicing" Catholics and loyal to their church. It was, however, the necessary preliminary to disestablishment, since only under its provisions could a church exist as a body of lay persons, its business affairs conducted by lay trustees,—the *associations cultuelles* of the Separation law.

Nor is Separation of Church and State the result of enmity to religion. The introduction of the law of last December was undoubtedly the immediate effect of the melodramatic opposition which the congregations offered to the enforcement of the Associations law, and its passage was conspicuously justified by the pope's breach of the Concordat in summoning two French bishops to Rome without reference to the President of the Republic, and by his ill-advised protest against the President's

Italian visit; but Separation was the inevitable consequence of the establishment of a republican government. More than thirty years ago the far-seeing church historian and life-senator, Edmond de Pressensé, prophesied that the sun of the twentieth century would not rise upon an established Church in France. The prophesy was inaccurate as to date, but its essential fulfilment was in the nature of things.

NEW YORK CITY.

(*To be continued.*)

IV.

THE LAMB IN THE MIDST OF THE THRONE.

BY PROF. JOHN I. SWANDER, D.D.

A philosopher once said, "Among the elements water is the best, among the metals gold outshines all the rest; and when you look for a bright star in the firmament never expect to find one that outshines the sun himself."

So when we seek to bestow our admiration upon the most illustrious and resplendent character in that heavenly world beyond the visible constellations and galaxies of the zodiac we should never expect to find one more fair than the chief among ten thousand and the one altogether lovely.

And I looked and a book was opened. It was the book of *Atheistic Ontology.* The volume had the visible universe for its contents. As some one read in the atheistic dialect of miserable jargon I heard the fool say in his heart "there is no God."

I looked again and saw another book opened. It was the book of *Irreverent Infidelity.* In that book was written, with a spluttering pen: "God is a monster to have created a race of beings, knowing that under their exposure to seductive temptation and hellish hate they would fall into wretchedness and ruin."

I looked again and saw another book. It was the book of *Theological Perplexity.* I read therin: "God was not wise enough to foresee the result of what was potentially involved in his works, and hence was obliged in the way of a benevolent afterthought to switch his creation off onto an infralapsarian side-track"—for repairs. And I saw that much of this miserable stuff was hashed up into modern orthodoxy.

"And I looked again, and saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the back, close

sealed with seven seals. And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a great voice: "Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no one in the heaven or on the earth, or under the earth was able to open the book or to look thereon. And I wept much, because no one was found worthy to open the book, or to look thereon: And one of the elders said unto me, weep not: behold the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath overcome, to open the book and the seven seals thereof. And I saw in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain, and he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne."

No wonder that the twenty-four elders fell down before the Lamb and sung a new song, saying "Thou art worthy to take the book and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood"!

That book was "written first within" and also on the back, implying the necessity of revelation first from the inside in order to penetration from the outside. Hence divine revelation conditions human discovery, divine evolution conditions human solution, and the Incarnation of the Son of God conditions the inspiration of the sons of men.

That Lamb stood in the midst of the throne. His standing, rather than a sitting or reclining posture indicates not only his eternal yesterday, to-day and forever, but also his activity in history, and the positive progress of history down the aisle of the ages. "In the volume of the book it is written of me. Lo! I come to do thy will, oh God."

I saw a Lamb, as it had been slain, or as though it had been slain; either on Calvary to ransom ruined man, or from the foundation of the world in the purpose of God. There is truth and force in either construction, but more truth and force in the complemental union of the two. Let no man put asunder the inseparable actualizations of that stupendous whole which God hath ordained to run through all the ages,

and all the ages to come, until it reaches its final consummation in that "far away divine event toward which the whole creation moves."

It would not fall within the scope of our present purpose to tarry with the four beasts round about the throne, as we do not know their significance in that connection; nor to pause among the four and twenty elders, except to note that they were elders (presbuteroi), not bishops (episcopoi) (as the house of bishops had not yet arrived); but to note and emphasize the fact that the Lamb was *in the midst of the throne.*

The Lamb stands in the midst of the throne—not a suppliant before the throne, not a mere power behind the throne, not an heir apparent to the throne, neither an infralapsarian appendage to the throne. The throne is Christocentric, and all correct thinking thereof must be Christologic. The moral universe must own the transcendency and the immanency as well as the preexistency of our Christ. He is in the world and the world was made by Him. He is constructively and reconstructively present. The government of the world is upon his shoulders. He is the principle of progress in the world's historic onflow; and will so continue to unfold the eternal purpose, until He that sits on the throne and holds the Mysterious book in his right hand shall "be all and in all."

Some of us may lack both the ability and disposition of certain advanced thinkers to see in the Man of Gallilee the eternal humanity of Christ, yet none of us should fail to see the eternal God in the son of Mary, as well as the humanity of man in the incarnate God.

The most ecumenical symbol of the Reformed Church is correct in its teaching that we are so far depraved as to be wholly unapt to any good and prone to all evil, unless we are born again by the Spirit of God; and yet the truth is read between the lines, if not in the lines, that human nature is not so depraved as to be incapable of receiving the *highest* good when overshadowed by the power of the Highest. Total depravity does not imply radical depravity. While we deplore the con-

sequences of the awful catastrophe of the fall, we take delight in the fact that humanity has neither been neutralized, demonized nor brutalized. Hence the assumption of humanity by the Son of God was not in itself a humiliation, but the first act in the drama of his theanthropic glorification.

The foregoing view assumes with Leibner and others that the Son of God would have become the son of man even though man had not sinned. But man having sinned, and thereby having necessitated the shedding of Messianic blood, the assumption of humanity by the Son of God drew after it the additional necessity of subjection and humiliation even unto the death of the cross. Hence the Lamb was seen in the midst of the throne "as it had been slain."

Sin and death came into the world neither by necessity nor accident, but by the unfolding of a possibility originally involved in the charter of human freedom and human dignity. It is assumed therefore, that He who ordained such way of attaining such freedom and dignity ordained also a throne high enough and broad enough to become a throne of Grace in the event of such sad actualization in history. Yet Immanuel's mission in the world was completive as well as restorative. There were seven seals to God's great book, and the Lamb in the midst of the throne was worthy to open them all.

That is a very inadequate view of Christ's mission into the world which sees in it a purpose no broader than the summit of Mt. Calvary. Seeing its soteriological purpose, we should both emphasize and glory in the cross. Yet Christ was not primarily born to die. He was born to live, and to give testimony to the truth in a sense much broader than Pilate's judgment hall. His mission was to give life to the world and to give it more abundantly; but when sin threw the cross athwart His philanthropic path He drank the dregs of its bitter cup. "He saved others; Himself he could not save" except by paying the ransom involved in His assumption of our humanity.

The position of much modern orthodoxy is the very counterpoint of the position of the disciples on their way to Emmaus.

Under their view the Messianic mission was to be completed without the cross. Under the traditional view the tragedy of Golgotha was the last act in the drama of the world's redemption, and the closing scene of all that the incarnation involved. At this point the Lamb in the midst of the throne steps in between these two counterpoints exclaiming: "Oh foolish men and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Behooved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into His Glory?" Christ's entrance into the glorified state gave Him the power to open the book. Never before could He say in that same sense: "All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth." Whatever may have been his prerogatives and powers before His incarnation, or during His state of humiliation in the flesh, He is now "the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah," and the Lamb in the midst of the throne. Henceforth we know Him no more after the flesh. The heavenly gates stood open to receive Him; the everlasting doors gave way, and He took His place as never before in the midst of the throne as the Lamb in meekness and the Lion in strength. He not only holds the keys of death and hell, but is Himself the key that unlocks all the mysteries of Providence. He is the key to the world's great history. He is *in* history, and the theology that does not reckon with Him as the central person and principle thereof had better retire before the rising sun of His Christocentric kingdom, power and glory. He is in the midst of the throne. That throne is not limited to a mere pivotal point in space, but extends through the entire realm of His moral universe in which, and in every part of which He is head over all things for the Church.

During the last eighteen centuries there has been eighteen hundred years of Epiphany. From the midst of the throne Christ has been manifesting himself unto the world, and this Epiphany season must run through the entire calendar of the church to the end of time until time shall be no more. His presence in the history of the church is the fountain of an influence that must continue to flow on until it redresses the

miseries which have afflicted every station, age and country and gives reality to that golden dream which has lived through all the consecrated traditions of the past and which continues to breathe hope into all the inspired imaginations of the future. The Lamb is in the midst of the throne.

What changes have been wrought in the earth by the onflow of Christian history! Turning and overturning has been the order and the disorder of the ages. Nations have perished from the earth, and new empires have risen upon their ruins. Kingdoms and Republics have sprung into being where monarchies once tottered and tumbled from the pedestals of their ephemeral power. Potentates have climbed to the pinnacle of fame only to fall into the dust of oblivion. Dynasties have been swept away by the tides of revolution. Cities have been razed to their foundations to make room for the greater metropoles of progress. And yet, upon its firm foundation remains the city whose builder and maker is God, because the Lamb is in the midst of the throne, yesterday, to-day and forever.

The broad historian sees two tides of emigration pouring into Europe and watches them in their collisions, conquests and amalgamations. He sees one tide flowing into Southern Europe founding Rome, annihilating the Carthagenian power, conquering Greece, shattering the monarchies of the East and sitting as the ephemeral mistress of the world; driving back the Goths and vandals that dared to thunder at her imperial gates; sowing the seeds of her civilization in Britain, Gaul and Hispaniola; preserving the most valuable records of revelation and literature; plunging into the sluggish river of the dark ages and emerging with her strength measurably exhausted; discovering the world's last continent under the glory of America's rising sun, until it pours the degenerated energy of its exhausted receiver into the old empires of the Toltecs and the Montezumian halls of the South. It was drifting away from its original moorings into an ecclesiastic forgetfulness that the Lamb is in the midst of the throne.

The intelligent historian also takes a bird's-eye view of the other migratory tide which may be regarded as an overflow of the stalwart barbarism of the orient. The head-waters of its principal current is north of the Alps and it follows the star of its empire westward in its course. Whether we call it Slavonic, Teutonic, Germanic, Saxon, Anglo-Saxon or Celt, it has been for nearly two thousand years the main stream of the world's energy, and for more than a dozen centuries the budding promise of its higher civilization. It rebuked the proud pretensions of the imperial mistress; it reaped the ripest fruit of Latin toil and triumph; it planted and patronized the first universities of learning; it moulded the political destinies of Europe; it gave us Magna Charta at Runnymede; it invented the printing press, translated the bible and is now reproducing the Word of God in every vernacular of the world; it fought the battle and gained the victory in the great conflict between the Crescent and the Cross; it drove the Mohammedan Anti-Christ out of Europe, and still keeps him cooped up within the precincts of semi-civilization; it reformed the theology and morals of churchanity, furnished the best martyrs for the cause of eternal truth and the bravest exiles for the sacred right of enlightened conscience; it launched the Mayflower of the Pilgrim fathers and planted its most vigorous colonies in the land of William Penn; it founded the noblest institutions of this country, and proclaimed liberty throughout the land and unto all the inhabitants thereof, because the drift of its religion has been toward a more full recognition of the Lamb in the midst of the throne.

That Southern or Latin stream of Christian civilization was never entirely disparted from its fountain head. However stagnant its waters, or sluggish its current, the stream moved on in the heaven-ordained channel of history; but the tendency to limit the Lamb's power in the midst of the throne so culminated in an earthly viceregency as to clog the channel with papal floodwood, and dam the stream with similar stuff, until the reformation of the sixteenth century became a necessity in

the history of the world. This necessity became also the opportunity for the Northern stream of Christian civilization and progress to push forward its higher mission, until, in the sweep of its conquests, it shall be able to lay a ransomed world at the feet of the Lamb in the midst of the everlasting throne.

Among the encouraging signs of the times is the fact that there is a growing disposition in Protestant Christendom to inquire diligently, as did the wise men of old, "Where is He that is born King of the Jews?" "Back to Christ" is now the watchword of men crying in the wilderness. But whither? To the book, or to the Lamb in the midst of the throne, with power to open the book? "The mighty trend and serious drift away from the Church of Christ in the Protestant world" is to be accounted for, not so much by the existing widespread "loss of faith in the authority of the Scriptures," as by the growing failure to recognize the mission of the Lamb in the midst of the throne. It was not the book, but the Lamb with the book in his hand, who, by his power to open the book, sent a thrill of hope and joy through the exultant hosts of heaven. Because men are without faith in the ever-enthroned and ever-historic Christ, they fail to believe the Bible. From such its inspiring contents are hid. For such there is no one to open the seven seals. Back to Christ's person in the midst of the throne!

Some of the less dangerous heretics of the Anti-Nicean age were more interested than are many of the champions of modern orthodoxy in questions pertaining to the constitution of Christ's person, his relation to the Father, the procession of the Paraclete and His relation to Himself in the hypostatic mystery. It is not intimated that they were more sound in faith, but that they were more earnest in their efforts to know the author and finisher of the faith, and more diligent in their inquiries as to what that faith really involved. And may it not be said in all charity and justice that many of them served in the Providence of God as at least negative magnets in the attraction of truth from the upper clouds, and the

conduction of its vital currents into the ecumenical creeds of the Christian Church?

The Lamb in the midst of the throne is the vital gem of the faith once delivered to the Apostolic saints, defended by the Apostolic fathers, and accentuated by their Apostolic successors until it came flashing its superlative brilliancy down the ages in the truly Christocentric and Christologic creeds of Christendom. From Polycarp to Justin Martyr, from Justin to Athanasious, what a Christocentric cloud of faithful witnesses look down upon us from the heavenly world. The Councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon will continue to make their centuries memorable in the history and hopes of the church as long as the Lamb remains in the midst of the throne.

After Chalcedon, 451, and especially after the settling or unsettling of the Monothelitic controversy in the seventh century there was, seemingly at least, a decadence of the Church's interest in the nature and centrality of Christ's person. The orthodox doctrine was, of course, retained and transmitted in the Ancient Creeds; but other questions, frequently growing out of the question of the Primacy, occupied the center of the ecclesiastical stage. Especially was this the case during the scholastic or dialectic period. It seems that for nearly a thousand years there was no proper recognition of either a Celestial throne or a Lamb in the midst of the throne. The person of the virgin mother was thrust either into or upon the throne of heavenly intercession.

It was this unwarranted assumption on the part of the Romish hierarchy and its incorporation into the cultus of the Catholic Church that helped to ripen the necessity for a reformation. With the sixteenth century came also the dawning of a Christologic consciousness that there was no need for the modification of the one mediatorship between God and man. The Swiss reformer may not have been the first to denounce this approach toward idolatry, yet the Shepherd boy of Wildhaus seems to have been second to none among the reformers

to decry the evil in a public address at Einseidlin in 1517. Seeing the people making their pilgrimages to the image of Mary he preached that prayer should be offered only to the Lamb in the midst of the throne. Indeed some of the Swiss reformers were so impatient in their zeal for the one mediator as to become almost sacrilegiously religious in their radical iconoclasm.

Nearly one-half a century after Zwingli had insisted that the Lamb should be worshiped as occupying all the room in the midst of the mediatorial throne the principle for which he then and thus contended was incorporated in the most ecumenical and irenical symbol that a Protestant Christendom ever produced. This principle interlines the entire Heidelberg Confession, and is heroically expressed in the thirtieth question: "Those who seek their salvation and welfare of saints, although they may make their boasts of Him, yet in act deny the only Savior, Jesus." This position is consistent with the Christological constitution of the book throughout. It is consistent with the anthropological position of the Confession as taken in the first question that the believer in body and soul, in life and death, belongs to his faithful Savior, Jesus Christ. It is consistent with the soteriology of the Confession which teaches in question eighteen that our Lord, Jesus Christ, is freely given unto us for complete redemption and righteousness. It is consistent with the ecclesiological position of the Confession which teaches in question fifty-four "That the Son of God, by His Spirit and word, gathers, defends and preserves for Himself, unto everlasting life, a chosen communion in the unity of the true faith." It is also consistent with the Eschatological position of the Symbol which teaches in question fifty-seven "That not only my soul, after this life, shall be immediately taken up to Christ, its head; but also that this, my body, raised by the power of Christ, shall again be united with my soul and made like unto His glorious body."

For the reasons just assigned and emphasized in the foregoing paragraph, the Heidelberg Confession is for us the royal

gateway to the whole field of Christian Dogmatics. This does not necessarily imply that the Confession is superior in all respects to all others; but for the following three sufficient reasons it is, next to the Bible, the Reformed professor's text-book in Systematic Theology, viz.: (1) Reformed ministers and Reformed professors of theology are solemnly pledged by all the sanctity of their ordination and inauguration vows to search for, view and teach the truth from the standpoint of the Symbol which they are sworn to hold aloft as the subordinate standard of denominational orthodoxy. (2) Because the Symbol is the most ecumenical, irenical and broad of all Confessions produced during and since the Reformation period. (3) Because it is grounded in the genuine catholicity of "the faith once delivered to the saints" and moves along on a line parallel with the teachings of the Apostles' Creed as that was received and interpreted by the Protestantism of the sixteenth century.

It may be true, as claimed by some, that the Heidelberg Confession was strained in its construction of divergency from the historical order of the Apostles' Creed. "We will not say," says Dr. Nevin, "that it is fully answerable in all respects to the genius of the Creed, or that the Creed finds in it everywhere its natural sense and right exposition. We can easily enough see, that a theological interest is allowed at times to bend the symbol from its true course, as in the arbitrary gloss, for example, on the descent to hades, adopted in the forty-fourth question." It is also claimed that the symbol was given too much of an Anselmic turn touching God's method of having satisfaction made for sin. Indeed it may be said that there is a growing Christian sentiment that the Confession is in several respects at variance with the progressive Christological consciousness of the present age.

Assuming that there is truth in the foregoing claims, what are we going to do about it? There is no good reason for attempting anything in a radical way. Rational theologians recognize the fact that we are living in an age productive of

both progress and Christian charity. Even though the Confession be lame in some of its venerable joints, it is still sane and sound in its broad and liberal spirit. As long as the Reformed Church is animated and actuated by that spirit, there will be no need of postponing the dawn of the Millennial day. As long as she doubles her membership every quarter of a century the catechism can afford to wait for the Lord's set time to favor Zion with such a modification of the Symbol as may be necessary to place it in line with modern Christian progress. The Lamb is in the midst of the throne.

Any intimation that the Reformed Church has the right to revise or modify her confession of faith may be met with a counter suggestion that she seriously consider her concomitant right to not undertake any such revisional work before the fulness of the time has been made obviously manifest to her most mature and intelligent judgment. And even then, any such decision to revise would not be justified in the spirit of entire independency of the more general consensus of theological sentiment intelligently prevailing throughout the entire range of progressive Christendom. Although the Heidelberg Confession was not the production of an ecumenical council, it soon came to possess a somewhat ecumenical character in the Protestant Christian world. Viewing the symbol in such character, the wisdom of the Reformed Church will not make undue haste to tamper with the little book in a revisionary way with no regard to the growing and prevailing theological mind of the Church at large. The aim will be to comprehend the truth "with all saints." The Lamb is in the midst of the throne for the special benefit of no mere province in His vast and expansive moral empire. The great white throne is broader than any denomination, no matter how historically central in Protestantism, or superlatively majestic among the sects of the earth.

Tiffin, Ohio.

V.

HADES.

BY THE REV. HIRAM KING, D.D.

Part I.: Hades as a State of Man's Existence.

As Hades is the subject of revelation itself for the enlightenment of faith concerning the future existence, there certainly can be no apology needed for its proper discussion, although it is almost wholly ignored in denominational creedal statement and also, to some extent, eliminated from the unsectarian doctrinal formulary of the Apostles' Creed itself.

The Origin of Hades.—The natural life is only the grub stage of man's existence and, under normal conditions, men would doubtless evolve into a glorified state. Of such sublimation of the natural life the translation of Enoch (Heb. 11: 5) and the prophet Elijah (2 Kings 2: 11) are, in fact, exemplifications. Death, however, intervenes between the inception of man's life and its glorification. St. Paul significantly depicts the destroyer under portraiture of a scorpion with sin for his sting (1 Cor. 15: 55, 56). This deadly beast sprang from the fall of man (Gen. 2: 17) and the venom of his sting produces the mortality of all the race at the fountain of life (1 Cor. 15: 22). Man accordingly breaks down in nature instead of surmounting his initial environments. Instead of his glorification in the heavenly state by normal development he disappears "under the earth" (Phil. 2: 10) in physical collapse.

As, now, Hades is an abnormal state of existence, it is plain that God is not its author. Such a state for man could not have been contemplated in his creation because it is foreign to his being. Indeed, Hades as a state involves man's partial destruction and can exist only in the loss of his bodily life. The inauguration of Hades was therefore due, not to divine agency but to the murder of Abel.

Hades Revealed.—Hades is quite a prominent feature of revelation. Under its Hebrew name of Sheol it occurs frequently in the Old Testament Scriptures and is variously translated in the Authorized Version as "hell," "grave" and "pit."

The dogma concerning man's existence in the middle state received its first recorded utterance from Jacob who declared his purpose of going down to Sheol to Joseph mourning (Gen. 37: 35). It is quite plain that the grief-stricken patriarch did not speak of simple death and literal burial, since he believed the story concocted by the conspirators, that his favorite son had been devoured by an evil beast (Gen. 37: 20) and that his bloody coat bore mute testimony to his tragic fate (ver. 32). Thinking him eaten by a wild beast, he certainly could not have referred to him as literally in the grave. If, however, so early an expression of faith in the doctrine of the middle state should be looked upon as having little or no significance, it must still be conceded that this tenet in the Hebrew religious creed receives the unmistakable sanction of revelation in the Hebrew prophets and the Psalms (Isa. 14: 9; Eze. 32: 17–32; Ps. 18: 5).

The revelation of the middle state is not only continued in the New Testament under its Greek name of Hades and its equivalents, but it comes to clearer expression in the New Testament writings than in those of the Old. Thus it was in Hades that the Rich Man appealed to Abraham for relief from suffering (Luke 16: 23–31) and in which the soul of the Lord was not to be left (Acts 2: 27). They were the keys of death and of Hades which the Lord carried away at His resurrection (Rev. 1: 18). It is Hades that will follow death on a limited mission of destruction (6: 8). They are death and Hades which will give up the dead and be cast into the lake of fire (20: 13, 14).

Hades the Mutilation of Man.—The middle state involves not merely the suspension of the bodily functions but the prostration of the bodily constitution itself. Man's being is

tripartite (1 Thes. 5: 23; Heb. 4: 12) and his trichotomy is essential to his complete existence in any sphere. Death disrupts the complex unity of body, soul and spirit in the destruction of the physical constitution. As the body is thus bereft of its constituent principle of life, its elements dissolve and seek their affinities in earth and air. As the soul, moreover, is the link between body and spirit, it, too, ceases to exist with the disruption of the trichotomic unity. The spirit alone survives the tragic ending of the natural life and tenants Hades. Verily the "image of God" is not just marred in death but broken. Man is a fragment of himself—a single part of his trichotomic being.

Hades obtains, therefore, in the elimination of the body and soul from the constituent unity of man's being and his existence is but partial. He "sleeps" in Christ or else the nightmare of anticipated judgment haunts him in the darkness. The night-time of Hades corresponds not, however, to the night of nature. Nor is the sleep of the dead identical with the nocturnal repose of the living. The sleep of the living follows the exhaustion of the vital forces; that of the dead results from the disintegration of the vital constitution. The sleep of the living is periodical; that of the dead, being the middle state itself, will not be broken before the world's Easter Day. The sleep of the living suspends the mental function; the sleep of the dead debars not mental action (Luke 16: 23–31).

Hades a Sphere of Spiritual Growth.—Notwithstanding man's partial destruction through death, Hades is still an advance on the natural life, from a purely spiritual standpoint, because it affords enlarged freedom for spiritual development. The righteous dead are, on the one hand, no longer exposed to the seductions of the "world, the flesh and the devil" because the general law of sin in the "members" (Rom. 7: 23) is eliminated from their existence by the destruction of the body. On the other hand, they are in higher, holier and richer grace-bearing environments than the living because, being disembodied spirits, they are in more intimate relationship with

God who is a Spirit. For them, moreover, the "communion of saints" with patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs and the rest of the pious dead must be blessed quite beyond the experience of the living. While Hades, therefore, still belongs to the unglorified state of man's existence and falls inconcievably short of the heavenly state proper, to which it temporarily bars the way, it is, nevertheless, a stage in the spiritual exaltation of man quite above the natural life.

Hades a State of Happiness or Misery.—The middle state is the preliminary theatre of future recompense or penalty, according to the character of the preceding life. Indeed the Lord Himself not only discloses to the living the general realm of existence in the immediate future (Luke 16: 19–31) and designates it as Hades (ver. 23) but He also makes the *condition* of its tenants the subject of direct revelation (ver. 25). The actors in the drama of The Rich Man and Lazarus are in possession of their normal faculties and the fate or fortune of each is an exemplification of the teaching of revealed religion, that the future weal or woe of men is consequent on the character of their present lives. The chief figure is Abraham, who thoroughly commands the situation and presides over the scene. The dead Epicurean, so lately in princely estate, is told that his present anguish is due to his selfish use of the "good things" he received in his life-time, and that he is, moreover, debarred from the relief he craves by a "great gulf" fixed between them to prevent their intercourse (ver. 26). The late forlorn sufferer from the "evil things" of privation and in infliction appears, however, in the full festal enjoyment of Paradise, "faring sumptuously" in consolatory compensation.

Hades Embraced in the Kingdom of God.—The middle state is a realm of the kingdom of heaven established in the incarnation, and Christ reigns over the dead as well as over the living. As to the scope of the Lord's jurisdiction in His exaltation, St. Paul wrote to the Philippians "that in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and

things on earth and things under the earth" (2: 10). The proverbial expression, "under the earth," is the equivalent of Hades but the "things" under the earth could not possibly be the bodies in the grave, since the latter are inanimate and therefore plainly incapable of performing the act of homage attributed to the former. Clearly, then, the newly-crowned King extends His sceptre also to the realm of disembodied spirits and the righteous dead "bow the knee" before Him in true allegiance as well as His living subjects.

The reign of Christ over Hades implies, however, much more than the happiness and safety of His "sleeping" subjects. The inference is warranted that their active interest is constantly enlisted in the progress of His Kingdom. Citizenship is functional and implies active service.

Hades not a Final State.—The middle state is, in the nature of the case, temporary and will be brought to an end at the conclusion of the personal reign of Christ. As the Lord secured the keys of death and of Hades at His resurrection (Rev. 1: 18), He controls egress from the great prison and will throw open its mighty portal, at His second advent, for the release of its inmates (1 Cor. 15: 22). The great enlargement will not take place, however, in the literal opening of a prison-gate but in a general resurrection of the dead which will be the eventual climax of the reign of Christ and His ultimate triumph over the destroyer of man's life. This reassertion of the supremacy of life will, moreover, not only be universal, but also final, the attendant result necessarily being the destruction of death and Hades for want of mortal men.

The End of Hades.—That the termination of the middle state will be consequent on the general resurrection is self-evident, but the resurrection itself is clothed in diverse prophetic figures. Thus the dead shall be raised at the sound of a trumpet (1 Cor. 15: 52), they shall awake from sleep in the dust (Dan. 12: 2) and the cemeteries are fields upon which the natural body is sown, in sepulture, for the spiritual harvest of the resurrection (1 Cor. 15: 44). It is certain, however,

that the general resurrection will not be the stupendous miracle to be wrought, in the popular mind, at blast of trumpet or vocal summons of God. The resurrection will, on the contrary, be due to the impulse of life. As Christ is the "resurrection and the life" (John 11: 25) because He became the progenitorial Head of the race in the incarnation (1 Cor. 15: 45), it is plain that the resurrection of the dead at the "last day" (John 11: 24) will be due to the inherent immortality of the incarnate race-life itself, just as was His own resurrection at Easter.

The affirmation that the resurrection of the body will result from the impulse of life itself is fully warranted by St. Paul's agricultural simile, that the seed-grain is *quickened* through its death for its growth into the harvest (1 Cor. 15: 36–38). So, too, the seed-grain of the body is "quickened" through death, the earth will be reaped at the time of harvest (Rev. 14: 16) and the middle state will cease to exist.

It is not in Adam, however, that man will surmount the abnormal condition of Hades. Adam is the generic head of the race and it is in him that their upward progress is arrested, since "all die" through generative heredity from him (1 Cor. 15: 22). It is, therefore, quite plain that man is totally disqualified at the fountain of his life for spiritual evolution from his initial state.

Man will, on the contrary, reach his delayed destiny in the glorified state through spiritual birth of the "last Adam" (1 Cor. 15: 45) in whose person human nature is sublimated into a higher immortality than that which was lost in the fall. It will be under impulse of man's *theanthropic* life that the "sleepers" in the dust will awake in the morning of the world's Easter to nightless existence on the "new earth" (Isa. 65: 17). The grain of the body that is sown "under the earth" is cast also into the soil of the new creation and will therefore spring up on the sun-lit field of the general resurrection.

Part II.: The Descent of Christ Into Hades.

The Descent of Christ in the Creed.—The Apostles' Creed is the summary of divine revelation from the beginning of man's existence in the world to his glorification in heaven. It is, moreover, the presentation of the main facts of revelation in the order of their sequence. This greatest of the religious creeds is therefore the truly historical statement of the doctrines of the Gospel and necessarily includes the article of the descent of Christ into Hades, since it marks a distinct stage in the progress of revelation. The instinct was accordingly correct which prompted the Church from the first to attach significance for faith to the period in the Lord's advent between Good Friday and Easter Sunday.

The Descent of Christ Logical.—The incarnation, in the nature of the case, made the descent of Christ into Hades inevitable. The advent is not the sham of a Docetic phantasm but the assumption of human nature by the Second Person of the Trinity in essence, attribute and function (John 1: 14). The incarnation is accordingly quite as much human as divine. The Son of God, "come in the flesh" (1 John 4: 2), is also the Son of Man (Matt. 8: 20) and is therefore within human environments and subject to the conditions of human existence. As, now, the fall of man made his natural death unavoidable, it is perfectly plain that the identification of Christ with the race in His birth involved Him in the common destruction of the natural life and the general descent into Hades.

The Descent of Christ in Revelation.—The descent of Christ into Hades is, moreover, affirmed as distinctly in revelation as it is demonstrated by logic. Thus King David, in foretelling the resurrection of Christ, said "that neither was He left in Hades" (Acts 2: 31). The Lord assured His penitent fellow-sufferer on Good Friday that He would be with Him in Paradise the same day (Luke 23: 43). Although Hades and Paradise are not equivalent terms, they

both refer to man's existence in death. David spoke of Hades as a state and therefore used its general designation. The Lord, however, assumed the moral distinction of the dead and employed the specific term, Paradise, to designate the felicitous condition of the righteous in Hades with whom He classed the petitioner. He exemplified, in part, the well-known doctrine of the Jews concerning existence in the immediate future (He had done so fully in the parable of The Rich Man and Lazarus) that Sheol was divided into two compartments; the one, at a relative elevation, for the habitation of the righteous; the other, at a lower level, for the incarceration of the wicked. The former was called Paradise; the latter Gehenna.

The Descent of Christ His Self-revelation to the Dead.—The descent of Christ into Hades extended His first advent into the realm of the dead. The death of Christ, like the death of mere men, was the separation of body and soul, but it was not the dissolution of His theanthropic person. The incarnation was neither annulled on the cross nor held in suspense from Good Friday to Easter. The union of God and man in the person of Christ is *spiritual* in its fundamental aspect and could not be broken in the wreck of His *physical constitution.* The descent of Christ into Hades, with any real significance, would, in fact, have been impossible if His death had involved the dissolution of His theanthropic person, since His necessary identification with the fortunes of the race is wholly dependent on the permanent union of His two natures.

As Christ therefore descended into Hades in His incarnate identity, it is plain that His ingress there was His self-revelation to the dead. He accordingly challenged the faith of the dead in His descent to them as really as He challenged the faith of the living prior to His death.

The Recognition of the Lord by the Dead.—Personal faith, it is plain, survives the termination of the natural life and the Old Testament saints "slept with their fathers," trusting in the covenant assurances of the Messianic advent. Did they,

then, recognize the Messianic character of Christ at His appearance among them?

The question of the attitude of the dead toward Christ will be simplified by first ascertaining the cause of His rejection by the living. It is plain that the Jews did not reject Christ for lack of personal faith in the Messianic promise, since their Messianic hope was really their national inspiration. The Jewish race was indeed the historical incarnation of the Messianic idea which expressed itself in their religious system, moulded their character and made them a peculiar people. It became their national genius and rendered their race-identity indestructible. It placed their "golden age" in *prospect* and gave them the attitude of *expectancy*.

It was therefore the *faith* of the Jews that furnished the motive for their unique crime. They rejected Christ *because* they expected the Messiah. Their persistent homicidal attitude toward Him resulted from the *intensity* of their belief in the Messianic advent.

The seeming perversity of the Jews in rejecting the Messiah, although their faith in the Messianic promise was their master-passion, can, however, be accounted for on perfectly rational grounds. In later Judaism, it is well-known, Messianic promise was diverted from its spiritual bearings to national aspirations, and faith in the Messianic advent became *materialistic*. The popular expectation, at the appearance of Christ, was therefore for a *political* Messiah who should overthrow the Roman power in Palestine and restore the Jewish commonwealth to its traditional splendor under King David. It was plainly in consequence of this total *misconception* of the Messiah's character that "they that were his own received him not" (John 1: 11) at His advent, and it was but an exemplification of the law of cause and effect that, under power of a faith thus perverted, they crucified Him instead of crowning Him. Their faith, like a misdirected physical force, had become an engine of destruction instead of a benificent power,

and the challenge of such believers by the true Messiah must necessarily have resulted in the crowning tragedy of history.

It is self-evident that the attitude of the dead toward Christ at His descent into Hades, like the attitude of the living toward Him in His ministry, depended on the *character* of their faith in the Messianic advent. Was then the faith of the dead, like the faith of the living, corrupted and practically diverted from its object? and did they, like their living co-religionists, look for a phantom Messiah? No, since the faith of the righteous dead must have been truly Messianic and could not therefore have been misdirected at the advent of the Messiah. The faith of the living was *originally* spiritual and it was only in later times that it became secularized. Abraham was ancestral for faith (Gal. 3: 7) as well as for the Jewish race and his personal faith was so purely Messianic that he "saw" the "day" of Christ some eighteen centuries in the future. Many generations, also, of true believers died before the faith of the visible Church became corrupt and the assumption is warranted that their faith did not afterwards lose its purity, since death eliminates from the existence the corrupting influences of the world.

Then again, revelation among the dead is not only unhindered by the worldly obstructions peculiar to the visible Church, but it comes to clearer expression among the dead than among the living. As to mode, revelation among the dead is not made through the *writings* of inspired men but by their *speech*. The divine communications to the dead are not made by means of ancient documents whose purport is not uniformly clear and which have been exposed to both mutilation and interpolation. But God makes His revelation in the middle state "by the mouth of His holy prophets which have been since the world began." His former ambassadors to the living are His present *authenticators* of revelation to the dead. As they were, moreover, the *bearers* of revelation to the living, they are its *undisputed* authorities among the dead.

It would therefore seem that the dogmatic misconceptions of the visible Church, which are so detrimental to faith, are, in the nature of the case, eliminated from the creed of the invisible Church.

The descent of Christ into Hades was itself, moreover, an article in the creed of the invisible Church, prior to His death, quite as much as His advent to the living was an article in the creed of the visible Church, prior to His birth. The *Suffering* Messiah was indeed portrayed very distinctly in both Old Testament typology and prophecy. Thus the sin-offering on the Day of Atonement and the lamb for the Passover both implied the *death* of Christ and were its annual prefiguration. Whatever, too, may be the exegetical fancies of modern critics concerning the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, it still remains that the Jewish interpreters affirmed the Messianic character of that prophecy prior to the crucifixion of Christ, and that they gave it a national application only subsequently to its fulfillment at Calvary, with the evident purpose of justifying their unbelief. The conclusion is reasonable, moreover, that the original interpretation of the prophecy, to the effect that the Messiah should be slain for the world He would save, is correct, since it was plainly in consequence of the perversion of the Messianic faith that the later Jewish commentators diverted the reference of the prophetic utterance from the Jewish Messiah to the Jewish people.

The descent of Christ into Hades was not, however, as the flash of a meteor out of the darkness, but as the coming of the day whose dawn proclaims its advent. Indeed, the descent of Christ to the dead would seem to have been more fully heralded than His advent to the living. That the believing dead even had knowledge of His presence in Palestine prior to His death is scarcely doubtful. But how could the dead receive intelligence of the advent of Christ before His descent to them? it may be asked. Possibly the shepherds to whom an angel announced His birth had already died and communicated his advent to the dead. It is certain that the aged

Simeon and Anna who had recognized Him at His presentation had died. There can be no reasonable doubt, moreover, that the recently martyred Baptist had made known to the expectant dead the appearance in Judea of one upon whom, at His baptismal consecration by himself, he had seen the Holy Spirit descending in Messianic designation (John 1: 33), and that His subsequent works had proclaimed His Messianic character. It is reasonable, too, that Malachi should have identified the dead Baptist as the "messenger" who should clear the way for the Messiah's approach (3: 1) and that Isaiah should have recognized in Him the "voice" that should demand of the people His becoming reception (40: 3). That both these prophets recognized the victim to Herodias' revenge and declared Him to have been appointed through their own prophetic utterances to the office of introducing the Messiah to the Jews, there can be but little doubt. Surely one may believe that the mission of John was not confined to the living but that he bade also the believing dead to "Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

It must now be evident that the invisible Church *possessed* the knowledge of the Messiah's character which the visible Church lacked through worldly perversion, and that, therefore, the descent of Christ into Hades was more intelligently anticipated by the dead than His advent was by the living. The inference is accordingly warranted that the *recognition* of His Messianic character which had been denied the Lord by the living was accorded Him spontaneously by the dead.

*The Significance of the Descent of Christ for the Unrighteous Dead.**—The first advent is the era of *evangelization.* In the preaching of the Gospel men are not challenged to believe in the Messianic idea but in the Messiah. Reeking altar, offering for sin, sprinkling hysop and paschal celebration be-

* That the descent of Christ into Hades was His advent to the *believing* dead as well as the occasion of His evangelistic mission to the formerly "disobedient," might be assumed with entire confidence. But the assurance of Christ to His believing fellow-sufferer at Calvary that he would be with Him in Paradise is a demonstration of His true communion with the saints in the middle state.

came cherished memories at the supersedure of all Hebrew ceremonial in the Messianic self-offering, and revelation is now *personal.* The Holy Evangel is, in fact, the Crucified Christ Himself (1 Cor. 2: 2).

Man's death, as well as his life, is within the period of the first advent, the era of evangelization. Christ in His descent into Hades therefore challenged the faith of the dead as much as He challenged the faith of the living in His birth. Such at all events is the conclusion of reason. Is it also the affirmation of revelation? With exegetical freedom from dogmatical embarrassment, it would seem to be.

The noted declaration by St. Peter that Christ "went and preached unto the spirits in prison" (1 Peter 3: 19) implies the extension of the first advent, *as the era of evangelization,* into the realm of the dead because: (1) The Lord's evangelistic mission to "the spirits in prison" coincided with His descent into Hades, since the apostle associates it with His death (3: 18); (2) they were *disembodied* spirits to whom Christ preached, since they are characterized as having "aforetime" been disobedient (3: 20). They are, in fact, designated as contemporaries of Noah (3: 20) and were therefore drowned in the flood twenty-four hundred years prior to the death and descent of Christ.

What, now, was the nature of the Lord's communication to these early malcontents under the divine government? The statement is simply that He "went and preached unto the spirits in prison" (1 Peter 3: 19). The verb translated to preach is *kerussein* in the Greek language and its meaning is to make proclamation as a herald. As the verb has no accusative, however, the *subject* of the proclamation is not stated but must be inferred from the conditions existing. The theory that the Lord declared the doom of the unrighteous dead in His descent into Hades is not tenable because it is based on a misapprehension of the *character* of His mission in the first advent, which is not *judicial* as the theorist assumes but *soteriological* as the Scriptures declare (John 3: 17; 12: 47). The reign of Christ is indeed *mediatorial* and it is plain that

He offers the boon of its saving grace to the race in its *entirety,* since "God our Saviour" "willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. 2: 3, 4. It is only in His second advent that the Lord will exercise the judicial function and pronounce the doom of the impenitent (Matt. 25: 31–46; John 12: 48). It is not conceivable on general principles, even, that one who would not send the demons into the "abyss" (Luke 8: 31) but suffered them to enter the swine, could, by proclamation, judicially foredoom the unbelieving dead; or that He whose prayer for His murderers yet lingered in His Father's ears could thus inaugurate a preliminary hell by the wanton destruction of hope. Nor does the New Testament use of kerussein warrant this gloomy exegesis. The verb is not employed at all to make judicial announcements and when not in connection with *to euaggelion,* the Gospel, it uniformly implies it.

The New Testament use of kerussein warrants the conclusion, therefore, that Christ, in His death, extended His mission of *love* also into the realm of the dead. Do the Scriptures, however, confirm the conclusion? Yes, plainly. There is not left the shadow of an excuse, in 1 Peter 4: 6, for a mistake so derogatory to the Messianic character as to make the Lord, like the Cretan Minos, a judge in Hades. "For unto this end," writes the apostle, "was the Gospel preached (euaggelisthe)* even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh." In fairly plain language, the apostle here accounts for the preaching of the Gospel to the dead, who had no prior knowledge of its provisions, on the ground that it would be the standard of the final judgment. "Unto this end," or that they might be judged like the living,

* The formation of the verb makes the statement singularly conclusive for the preaching of the Gospel to the dead by Christ. The noun euaggelion itself was simply eqiupped with the faculty of making announcement or proclamation. It thus became a verb but remains also practically a noun in the accusative relation, and euaggelisthe is the statement in *itself* that the Gospel was preached. If, moreover, the reference here is to the Lord's evangelistic mission to the dead (and who can really doubt it?), then does euaggelisthe also supply the missing accusative to keussein in 1 Peter 3: 14.

"was the Gospel preached even to the dead." The scope of the first advent is therefore as *extensive as the race* and the Gospel is meant for all *generations* as well as for "all nations" (Matt. 28: 19).

Were the gracious provisions of the Gospel, however, made *available* in the middle state? and are the dead given the opportunity to accept or reject Christ as well as the living? It is self-evident that the judgment of the unrighteous dead by the standard of the Gospel would be a judicial pretext and not a measure of justice, if its terms were not *meant* for their acceptance. The Saviour, moreover, could neither trifle with the unsaved nor subject the perishing to the tortures of Tantalus. Nor could the God of love thus mock the wretched beings for whom His Son died. In fact, the preaching of the Gospel implies, in the nature of the case, a bona fide offer of salvation. That such gracious offer was indeed made in the instance under consideration is not left doubtful by the last clause of 1 Peter 4: 6 which asserts that the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the dead was that they might "live according to God in the spirit." As it is quite impossible for men in the condition of the fall to conform to the will of God without *accepting* the terms of the Gospel, it is certainly plain that in preaching the Gospel to the dead the Lord offered them the *grace* of the Messianic advent.

Revelation in Hades Limited to Atonement.—The descent of Christ to the dead, like His preceding advent to the living, was an advance on Judaism but in neither case was revelation made in full. Whether ideal or actual, revelation is personal in its final analysis and Christ is the person revealing Himself. The Jewish and Christian eras represent, respectively, the two great stages in His self-revelation. In the former He was typical; in the latter He is antitypal. Christ was *but* the "Rock" that followed the Israelites in the wilderness (1 Cor. 10: 4), since revelation prior to the actual incarnation was *promise* in character. The pre-Christian Christ was therefore but the *ideal* Christ.

At His descent, moreover, the Lord was the *dead* Christ and

it is quite plain that He could not reveal Himself to the dead as the *risen* and *ascended* Christ any more than He could have thus mortgaged the future for the living. At Christ's descent into Hades, therefore, revelation to the dead, like revelation to the living, was limited, as yet, to atonement. Nor indeed was it possible for revelation, *because* it is personal, to develop into regeneration in any proper, historical sense except through the Lord's glorification in His resurrection and ascension, and these events were the *subsequent* stages of His self-revelation.

Revelation in Hades the Guaranty of Pentecost to the Dead. —The Lord fostered faith in the Messianic promise by His assurance to the believers that complete Messianic triumph would speedily follow the seeming disaster of His death. He foretold not only His resurrection and ascension to His disciples (Matt. 16: 21; John 6: 62) but also the climactic descent of the Holy Spirit to inaugurate the Messianic era (Acts 1: 4, 5, 8). May it not, then, be reverently assumed that in His communion with the saints in Paradise, He instructed them likewise concerning the mighty events impending, and that, therefore, His ascent from Hades at Easter was the guaranty of the promised effusion of the Spirit for *their* faith, as much as His subsequent ascension from Olivet was such a guaranty for the faith of the living disciples! Pentecost, like Christmas, was the divine response to human faith and its grace was normally extended to the realm of the dead believers, where, it may be believed, the great day was not the empty echo of the Spirit's outpouring at Jerusalem any more than the descent of Christ into Hades had been the mere proof of His prior advent at Bethlehem. The belief is indeed warranted that "when the day of Pentecost was now come," the Holy Spirit fell also on the expectant believers in Hades and thus vitalized, in their spiritual generation from the *glorified* Christ, the recently made atonement. It is reasonable therefore to conclude that "there were added in that day" many more thousands "under the earth" than were added *on* the earth.

VI.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN RELATION TO ORGANIZED CHARITY.

BY LOUIS F. ZINKHAN, A.M.

In the minds of many there is at once a doubt whether there can be any relation between the church and organized charity. With them, organized charity is supposed to stand for something outside of the church, and, in their judgment, at variance with the church. There is a doubt whether there is much charity in organized charity. What is its aim? Is it not to lessen charitable impulses? Is it not largely to prevent the giving of money to aid the poor, and that it is constantly asking for more and larger subscriptions to oil the machinery which is to investigate, and expose, and humiliate the poor? Is it not presumptuous to bring to the attention of the Christian church its relation to organized charity? Is it not true of organized charity what many claim to be true concerning foreign missions, that a very large per cent. is applied to running the thing, and a small per cent. only reaches the heathen, or the beggar, as the case may be.

Is it not also true, say some, that organized charity smothers the best and deepest philanthropic impulses of the christian giver because it is ready to relieve him of the duty of coming face to face with human misery? Does it not ask for his check that it may do his good deeds for him, so that he may not waste his valuable time in the drudgery of doling out his gifts, nor harrow his emotions by gazing upon the many miserable wrecks of human woe?

Let us look for a moment at the other side—the side of the church. Has she always been as broad in her charities as human opportunity would let her be? How then, ask some, do you account for the countless divine fragments of desolate

human souls, whose woes have gone unpitied; whose wounds have gone undressed; whose cries would not be heard?

Has the Christian church not often been selfish? Are there not many ministers who have believed that they were not called to any endeavor outside of their own little circumscribed spiritual bailiwick? That their full duty began and ended with gathering in the children of the church; in keeping their own particular sheep from straying; and in looking after the poor, and dependent, and unfortunate of their own church?

I have known ministers who have blotted from the church records the names of some who went astray and got into prison. That stigma put them not only out of the touch of the church, but left them no hope of getting back into it. I have known church members, because of "necessity's hard pinch," to drift into the almshouse, and by their own spiritual friends and pastors they have been numbered among the forgotten. I once wrote to a minister concerning his son, who had fallen into a criminal life and had been sent to prison. The boy was young; I believe he was penitent; I believe that if the father's hand had been stretched out in forgiveness the boy would have built "a new life on a ruined life"; but the father never answered my letter, and when we met long afterwards he never referred to my work in behalf of his son.

I remember a young woman who was well raised. The insidious and devilish influence of a man tempted her from home; she yielded to sin. Her family was broken hearted. The woman suffered; with many tears she repented. Though reared with many comforts and proud of heart, she begged for forgiveness, and pleaded that she might return home, and as a sign of repentance and humiliation do the merest drudgery in the home. It was a Christian home. The relatives were religious people. But pride was there. This daughter had brought the first disgrace upon their honor. It could not be forgiven. I never saw such grovelling repentance on the part of the sinner; I never witnessed hearts steeled more keenly against forgiveness than this Christian family. I pleaded

with them in behalf of the Magdalene because my faith in her future was strong, but the last message they gave me for her was: "she is dead; she cannot be resurrected." If to be helpless is to be hopeless; if to be once in the clutches of sin means that it is impossible to rise; then indeed are many to be pitied, and the terrible edict must be written over many a home, and hovel, asylum, and prison cell: "leave hope behind who enters here."

Thank God, the number of ministers, churches, and christians is comparatively few, who, in this day and generation shut the door of hope and of renewed opportunity for good to the submerged, the defective, and the degenerate. I have faith in the Christian Church. It is the genius of the church that she makes a handmaid of philanthropy; that wherever she finds woe and anguish, destitution and wickedness, she comes with hope and help, with a tender heart and a strong hand, to do in faith what the Friend of sinners taught and did Himself.

It is worth calling attention to the fact that, immediately after Christ's temptation in the wilderness, He went into His own city Nazareth, where He had been brought up, and came into the Synagogue and there uttered the words which are the first record of His public ministry: "The spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath annointed Me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent Me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." We need no other authority for engaging in the work of lifting up those who have made shipwreck of their virtues and happiness. The very keynote of the Gospel is that "Jesus Christ came into the world to seek and to save them that are lost." Is there a more divinely beautiful and hopeful utterance than this pearl from the lips of the infinitely compassionate redeemer: "I am come, not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance?" To become the friend of the publican and sinner is a glorious trait in the

Savior's character. It will be the joy of the Church to the end of time, and the admiration of heaven forever, that Jesus Christ came to call sinners to repentance, that He is the friend and helper of the vilest of the vile.

Christ had no sympathy for those selfrighteous ones who showed a hard, pitiless, unforgiving spirit towards that class of people who had fallen so far below the standard of human excellence; who had drained the dregs of degradation and had wrecked virtue and happiness. The Master knew the possibilities in human nature; He knew how the wretched circumstances of the outcasts required an almighty friend. Does the sick man need a physician? much more does the sinner need a righteous friend. The Lord went to them accompanied by an invincible, tender, all conquering love; and we need to remember His memorable utterance: "I have left you an example, that as I have done unto you, so do ye also one to another."

The Christian church has made majestic strides in missionary and benevolent work; hospitals, asylums, retreats for every condition of want, helplessness, and woe, have been the peculiar offspring of a Christian civilization; but until the present century very little has been done for those who are in prison, except to offer up the petition: "That it may please Thee to show thy pity upon all prisoners and captives"; and in the present century it is true, I fear, of nearly all christians, what a christian gentleman wrote to me some years ago about work among prisoners, that the churches, "pray cream and live skim milk."

More than thirty years ago, one of my professors, of blessed memory, laid it upon my heart and conscience, whilst I was a student in the theological school, that if I would make my ministry of any account, I should remember the poor and needy, the friendless, and the hopeless. He pressed me into service preaching in the county jail and almshouse, and he himself furnished me not only with the inspiration to do the work, but with horse and carriage to go to the work. This

man would by my own church not have been regarded as orthodox, but he did impress upon me the great truth, phrased in the words of another, that: "A Christianity that will not help those struggling from the bottom upward, needs another Christ to die for it."

Let me say, and emphasize it as a cardinal truth, that: "if the world is ever to be saved, the bottom needs to be lifted up." Young men, entering into the christian ministry need to feel the sentiment so forcibly expressed by Goethe: "Der ganzen Menschheit Jammer fasst mich an." (The misery of universal humanity appeals to me). The men who enter into life's work in this spirit will "become the apostles of life; the prophets of service; the messiahs of to-morrow."

Organized charity may be public or private. It may be organized and maintained by and for the church; it may be carried on by private munificence outside of the churches and for the general good; or it may be supported by municipalities, states, and governments for the benefit of certain classes who are properly public charges, and for whom provision can be made in no other way. The oldest and many of the best charities are those supported by the church; chief among these are the church orphan asylums, homes for the aged and the infirm, and hospitals; and the tender, loving ministrations, of the King's Daughters, guilds, and kindred societies.

If I ventured upon a criticism of any of these charities it would be in regard to the prevailing method of admitting children in the orphan asylums. Of late years there has been a "forward movement" in some of them, but others still cling to the old method of receiving, training, and holding the children in the orphanages much longer than need be; which means, not only increased financial responsibility on the part of the church, but sometimes the loss of splendid opportunities to the children.

My theory is that orphanages should not provide on an extensive scale for the permanent custody of the normal, but of

the abnormal, unattractive, backward, and crippled children. An institution can never do for a child what a good Christian home can do. In saying this I am in no way reflecting upon the devotion, the zeal, the consecrated common sense of those in charge of orphanages. But a *home* is what a child needs, and what will best develop its life, and let us say that there are plenty of good Christian homes, and plenty of men and women of the best Christian type (childless themselves), who are ready and anxious to receive, adopt, support, train, and love children as members of the family. The abnormal, defective, or crippled child lacks the attractions which appeal to those who have no children of their own, and who wish to adopt one or more. Naturally they want a child which will give promise of development, affection, and gratitude.

I know of an institution which for more than forty years has been active in keeping poor, dependent, orphan children out of institutions; which has provided good homes for more than 4,000 of them; which kept oversight of them through all the years of their minority by correspondence and visitation, and not one per cent. of them turned out bad.

Of course, I am aware that the orphan asylums will not be so attractive if they have charge only or mainly of the unattractive and abnormal kind of children; they will not be able to make as fine a show; but they will have, may I say it, greater reward in gathering in and ministering to the crippled, forbidding, unappreciative, and fragmentary lives, on whom so little pity, compassion, and kindness are usually spent.

Every church should have some organized form of charity work. It opens up the fountains of interest, love, and sacrifice; it develops an atmosphere of sweet fellowship, of holy zeal, of spiritual growth in the church. This is especially true where those who give come in personal touch with those who are the recipients of good deeds.

For years I have watched with keen and loving interest certain forms of charity in the church which strongly appealed to

me. One church, I remember, which had a strong, active society of women, whose business it was to make all kinds of garments to be given to the needy poor; it even employed and paid a number of poor women for assisting in making the garments; it gathered up many useful toys and distributed them among sick, crippled, and poor children. It constantly sought opportunities and means of helping the helpless, in and out of the parish.

In Washington there are colored churches whose charity work is as rare as it is beautiful. One large colored church (in which I have had the pleasure of speaking) has in its very large membership quite a number of aged, infirm, poor and dependent members. Some of them are maintained by families in the church; others have their home in the District Almshouse. Special consideration is given to these cases. Once a year a service is devoted to the members who cannot ordinarily attend church on account of some disability. Carriages are provided in which these people are brought to and from the church. The same thing is done for those in the almshouse. A special sermon is preached to them; the holy communion is administered to them; after the service a sumptuous dinner is provided in one of the rooms of the church for them; the cooking and serving are done by the best colored cooks and waiters; the afternoon is given over to an informal reunion in the church, and the strong vie with each other to entertain and to do honor to the old, poor, blind, crippled fathers and mothers in Israel. It is a day to be remembered for a year; it becomes a memory whose sweetness endures.

There are a number of churches in Washington which send organized committees every Sunday to the almshouse, hospital, and workhouse for religious services. Statedly during the year they also provide delightful musical and literary entertainments to the almshouse wards; and occasionally they come out in force to provide a feast of good things for the poor; distributing with their own hands perhaps a wagonload of ice-cream, cakes, fruit, candy, tobacco, aprons, etc.

The charity work of the church is one of her arms of power, influence, and blessing; yet I do not believe, nor do I wish to be understood as saying, that charity is the chief function of the church. Its great function is the spiritual uplifting of humanity; the salvation of mankind. The church finds men struggling at the bottom and it inspires them with hope and courage; it puts heart in them; it strengthens faith; develops character; it brings the divine and human in touch with each other.

Another great work of the church is the prevention of the growth and development of evil. Charity is the natural and necessary complement to these aims; therefore it has always been encouraged and fostered by the church at all times.

Many churches, whilst they have increased in their liberality towards the less fortunate, have not always advanced in discrimination, considerateness, and practical alleviation of human misery. Indeed, it seems that many churches have fallen behind and have degenerated in practical charity work. Bishop Potter, in an address made a few years ago, declared that "the work was better done a century ago than now"; much of it was more wisely done, and obtained better results. Charity was not organized then as now; it was done by the individual to the individual. It was the giving of thought, and love, and help of the strong to the weak, and it bore fruit in alleviating misery, and in restoring many of the dependent and unfortunate to self-respect and self-support.

Many of our churches to-day work by this method and in this spirit; their work speaks for itself. But alas, there are others, and many of them, which for want of thought and consideration towards the poor, as well as towards the defective and dependent classes, have done irreparable harm, and have really injured many a life that might have been saved. If our physicians would treat the sick with as little thought and skill as many of the churches treat the distressed and delinquent ones, there would be a much higher rate of mortality. Some

have seriously raised the question whether some churches are not doing more harm than good by their methods of administering to the needy and distressed. Some of them, I am sure, would do no more harm if they did no charity work at all.

There are those who honestly believe that it would be better for society, if some of the worthy poor were left to struggle in their misery, and the unworthy were utterly forsaken than that some of the thoughtless and pernicious methods as practiced in other days should continue and all the wretched consequences, that are evident to those who consider the matter at all seriously.

Many clergymen, who have given more serious attention to helping the poor and distressed than most of their parishioners, must feel ashamed when they recall how often they have been duped by unscrupulous pretenders, and how much sympathy and money they have thrown away, because they would not take the time and trouble to consider many of the cases which forced themselves upon them. Some of us have compared notes with our brethren, and as our dullness or weakness was made manifest by our folly in helping and encouraging the impostor and fraud, we have derided ourselves, but notwithstanding this and our determined resolves to "sin no more," we have in a little while forgotten what manner of men we were and suffered ourselves to be caught in the same traps.

It was Henry Ward Beecher who said long ago that "the next worst thing to not helping a man, is to help him." It is all right not to let your left hand know what the right hand is doing, but it is most important to see that the right hand, if it does anything, does the right thing always. Charity must not be blind. Indiscriminate charity is a wrong against society. So much of the "help" extended to those who need our assistance in bearing their burdens is hasty, perfunctory, ill-advised, sentimental, or emotional, that it is all important to lay down certain fixed principles of wise charity. It has

been well said that "the one standard by which to determine the kind of help required by the poor is that which shall put the individual or household in honest and respectable relations with society." Our present methods are not good enough. We need to seek a more excellent way. The really hard thing to get for many of the destitute and unfortunate is personal kindness, the alms of friendship, discretion, understanding and sacrifice. Our money will increase the evils we are trying to eradicate unless we give thought, consideration, and personal interest. Experience has proved that in the vast majority of cases applications for aid come not from those who are worthy, but from the unworthy, and that whilst here and there some charities are worthily bestowed, there are too many, on the other hand, wretchedly administered. The church has learned, and that not many years back, that to accomplish more real good it was necessary to organize within the church, associations, organizations, and orders, to provide plans, methods, and schemes for well-directed and effective charitable effort. With the church societies the church has no quarrel, but of the organized charities outside of the church she is often suspicious and at variance, and therefore does not always give to the latter the interest and co-operation they should have. This is to be wondered at, too, when we remember that three-fourths, or more, of the workers in organized charities are members of the various churches.

For many reasons the relation of the church to organized charities should be of the most friendly character. These societies represent the most advanced thought and experience in charity work. They have made the problem of charity the subject of painstaking and scientific investigation; they have from accumulated experience gathered facts which are invaluable; and they offer to churches and to individuals the results of their experiences; they offer to make your love and liberality more skillful by the light of their knowledge; they gather for your guidance information that will prevent the

squandering of your pity and help on the unworthy; they relieve at your request thousands of unfortunate ones who have felt "necessity's sharp pinch."

Organized charity in cities is no longer an experiment. It has given a reason for its existence. The object of organized charity is to reach the individual,—every individual in distress needing help. Its thought, its mission, its responsibility is to the worthy and the unworthy. To all these it must bring help if it can, to put them on their feet again, to give heart to the discouraged, health to the sick, employment to the idle, sunshine to those who are in the dark, methods of self-help to those floundering in helplessness. The work of these organized charities challenges the admiration and confidence of the churches. Who is not moved and stirred by the work of Charles L. Brace, who sent 40,000 New York waifs to homes in the West, and put hope and manliness into the hearts of thousands of newsboys; of Mary Carpenter, who has done a life work in Liverpool; of Octavia Hill, who by wise methods turned filth-saturated courts in London into scenes of cleanliness and order, and transformed rough men into patterns of thrift and sobriety! Look at the splendid work which is being done to-day by organized effort to stay the awful inroads of the white plague; to improve housing conditions; providing playgrounds for children crowded in unsanitary homes; providing summer outings for the poor and sick!

Organized charity has by energetic effort largely overcome the intolerable evil of herding hundreds of loafing and idle men night after night in station houses, unfed and unwashed; it has by keen discrimination and by its untiring influence upon legislation reduced the great army of tramps, who invested our almshouses, our hospitals, and our streets. They are still in evidence, but they are by no means so formidable as they used to be. Despite the encouragement given to tramps by many of the church people, who feared that they might offend an angel unawares, these societies have been able

to reduce their number. Many of us eagerly listened to their tales of woe and have fed and clothed them in laziness. Of all men we have treated the tramp the worst. Look at the noble work of the Associations for improving the Condition of the Poor; the Charity Organization Societies; the Associated Charities; the St. Vincent de Paul Societies, and others, which annually bring so much real hope and help to thousands of unfortunate people by prompt investigations and timely aid.

Read the records of the trained agents who open the door of hope to hundreds struggling to get a living; look at the records of work secured, families made self-sustaining, friendless ones provided with friendly visitors to sympathize, counsel, and relieve them with infinite tact and delicacy. There are many other organized charities which are doing good work in relieving distress, throwing safeguards around our homes, and sanctifying the powers of our churches by work within and without; and yet many of our churches stand aloof from them, do not give them sanction and support, do not seek their coöperation. I have attended a number of the sessions of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which are usually represented by many hundred delegates of the foremost organized charities throughout the United States and Canada. These meetings contribute some of the very best literature in the work of charities and corrections. Yet it has been noted again and again at the great sessions there would not be half a score of ministers in attendance to give sanction and recognition to such a great work.

Of course, the ministers have their excuses. One will say that the church ought to be doing all the work. The church had the opportunity but often passed it by. Another will say that these societies are slow in giving their alms. But is it not true that gifts of thought and of effort are more truly charitable than the mere gift of money? Others think it is cruel to harrow the feelings of the distressed and needy by

scrutinizing closely their condition. But, as long as our churches, through mistaken delicacy towards the needy, will insist on giving blindly, their efforts will prove worse than useless. The first impulse of charity is not always the true or right; and the easiest thing is by no means the best.

Indiscriminate charity is nearly always in error. What should we think of a physician who dared to give medicine without first diagnosing his case? Is it less sinful to relieve a distressed man without attempting to learn the source or the kind of distress, and ascertain what kind of help would most wisely and effectively relieve his distress? Have you ever attempted to follow up the results of thoughtless and indiscriminate giving? Have you given clothes and shoes to the stranger? In many cases they will find their way to some shops for the price of a few drinks. Is it money for food? In most cases it is spent at a bar where a free lunch goes with the drink. Is it a letter of confidence or recommendation? We have seen some that our brethren have written, and they have been used for years. Much usage has made them yellow, and greasy, and tattered, but they are still profitable, so the holders paste them together and continue their work. How many of us, as we review past experiences must make the confession of the benevolent old lady, whose eyes were only opened late in life: "I tried to do good, but I didn't know how, and I did more harm than good."

I remember hearing a clergyman make a confession that, as a young man jealous to do good and eager to relieve all who called upon him, he acted thus: "I begged from the rich and gave to the poor." Finally, an experienced charity worker took him in hand, and it did not take him long to learn as he went over his cases and sifted them that most of his benevolence and sympathy had been wasted.

Organized charity does not intend that you should give less, but more. It wants to save waste. If you help a man for a day or two and then leave him in the same condition you have

wasted your substance. It is far better to spend fifty dollars on one case and relieve it adequately and permanently than to hand it in small sums to three score persons who will only waste it. Our organized charities are doing splendid work. They are ready to serve us; we should use them; get the benefit of their experience and information; we should encourage and support them.

I venture to remark that many of our churches indulge too exclusively in denominational charity, unwilling to give anything that is not distributed within the fold. The Master said: "And other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also must I gather, and there shall be one shepherd and one fold." Religious duty is not entirely performed when denominational or parochial charities are being supported by the church. There must be a readiness and willingness to give genuine help in the general effort for improving conditions in society. One of the splendid signs of the times is the fact that a number of our universities, colleges, theological seminaries, and other professional schools have developed and are maintaining courses and departments of instruction in social theory and practice, and some of them have furnished the most highly specialized and practical workers in philanthropic and social service.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

VII.

CAUSES AND REMEDIES FOR THE SCARCITY OF MINISTERS.

BY THE REV. D. B. LADY, D.D.

There seems to be at present an unusual scarcity of ministers of the gospel and the number of students in many of the theological seminaries is not as large as it was ten years ago. It is feared by many that the progress of the church will be seriously hindered if this state of things continues. It is the purpose of this paper to mention and discuss some of the reasons for the scarcity of ministers and candidates for the ministry, which all earnest Christians deplore, and to point out some of the ways in which, perhaps, at least a partial change for the better may be brought about.

This is not an entirely new condition. Christ said, in his day, "the harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few." That there were but few ministers to be had was a great hindrance to the work of the Reformed Church in this country, when German emigrants first found homes here. It is hard to estimate how much stronger and more useful our church might have been, during all the decades of her history in the new world, if we could have had a full supply of ministers in early times to gather our scattered people and others into congregations and pastoral charges and to build them up in spiritual life. The inadequate supply of ministers was, later on, one of the chief reasons for the founding of a theological seminary and a college. Thirty-five years ago one of the professors at Mercersburg said to the students that he had letters from fifty vacant charges making inquiry as to the prospect of securing members of the graduating class of the seminary for the supply of their pulpits; and the seminary graduated but a very small class that year. Afterwards for a number of years the

demand for ministers seemed to be more fully met. Now we are again confronted by the scarcity which was characteristic of some former periods of our history.

It is important that we fully understand this condition. Being aware of our present difficulties, we should inquire earnestly into the reasons of their existence, and endeavor to find and apply the remedies for them. We cannot be too deeply impressed with this undesirable state of things. The discussion of the subject should not cease until the causes of what we deplore are discovered, the disease located, the antidote discovered and given, and a cure effected. Our success in the great work to which the Church is devoted, the saving of souls and the building up of the Kingdom of Christ, depends on this. But the fact that the Church at large, and our own Church in particular, had this same difficulty to contend with before and overcame it, while in no way belittling the seriousness of the present situation, gives us confidence that, as at other times, the causes of it may be discovered and a more desirable condition be brought to prevail.

1. Among the reasons for the present scarcity of ministers (the repetition of the phrase will be pardoned) the first one to which the reader's attention is called is: that perhaps no sufficient appeal is made to the spirit of self-sacrifice in presenting the claim of the church for such service to the young men of our day.

Two things may be taken as true. First, there is in the human heart, naturally, a spirit of heroism. All men have this and what they do is more or less affected by it. Second, this is especially felt by young men. Some men, of course, have this in larger measure than others.

A father, *e. g.,* makes a life-long struggle for the maintenance of a large family. Self is forgotten. He has set out to feed, clothe, shelter and educate those whom God has given him. He stands alone, or with his wife, between his helpless offspring and starvation and ignorance and perhaps disgrace

and crime. A coward would desert them and give up the fight when it becomes difficult. A true father stands to his colors and only surrenders with his life. And the situation brings out something very admirable in his character which would not have been developed under other conditions. This spirit of heroism has much to do with the discovery and settlement of new countries and with explorations among uncivilized and savage people.

When a country is in danger and treasure and life must be given up that it may be preserved the heroic in men is appealed to. Men give up their fortunes, they loose their health, they lay down their lives, and they do this willingly. Many nations well worth preserving would have perished had not men of this heroic mould been found ready to sink personal interests and advantages for the good of the nation. History is, in large measure, the record of deeds of self-forgetfulness for the public good in times of danger. The historian takes pleasure in recording such acts; the student in reading and filling his soul with them.

From the beginning the church has given ample opportunity for the exercise of this quality in men. Christ was unselfish, devoted to a grand cause, and willing to suffer for it. The apostles had the same spirit. They counted not their comforts nor their lives dear to them when laboring to lead men to Christ. The Church has a noble army of martyrs on the catalogue of her illustrious leaders. And the prospect of suffering has never been a hindrance but rather a help to her progress in gaining converts.

It may be that in recent years we have not made the claim upon young men to devote themselves to the ministry on this ground strong enough. We have not addressed ourselves to the spirit of unselfish devotion of which the man and christian is capable, nor asked him to give himself to the service of the Church on the ground that such service demands the giving up of the wealth and honors which many men value supremely.

2. It has been urged, on the other hand, that young men do not enter the ministry in sufficiently large numbers to supply the needs of the Church because too much must be given up in many cases by those engaged in this calling. It has been claimed that if the minister were always reasonably sure of employment, of an honorable position in society, of a generous remuneration for his services and of being provided for in old age, many young men would adopt this calling who now enter other lines of work. It is claimed, moreover, that to look for such things is not unmanly, nor even unchristian, nor incompatible with such consecration to a great cause as the ministry involves.

Almost every young man of ability and culture will exercise some foresight when about to choose a profession. He will examine the claims upon him of different possible careers and his own inclinations and the material rewards assured by each one. It is easy to see how even a conscientious and God-fearing young man may reason on this subject. He may say, I have an inclination for the law or engineering. I take that as an indication that I am adapted to the law or engineering. I will enjoy the work. I will probably succeed in it. There is a fair remuneration for the lawyer and the engineer. Avenues of advancement are open in these professions. There are many large fees and great prizes set before the lawyer. A judgeship, an attorney-generalship, a seat in Congress or in the United States Senate or even the Presidency may be won. As an engineer, a man may become the head of an important manufacturing establishment or of a great railroad. There is no such remuneration for the minister. There are no great prizes set before him. There is no great fame to be won in his calling.

It is evidently not the will of God that every christian young man of good ability should enter the ministry. The profession would soon be overcrowded if this were done. God can be acceptably served in other walks of life. A lawyer or an engineer is doing the will of God too. It would be a pity

to spoil a good lawyer or even a good bricklayer to make a poor preacher. Other things being equal, then, or being considered so, the decision falls upon the side of the greatest earthly returns. The difficulty is that of late years too large a percentage of young men have been taking this position.

In the army and navy the two motives spoken of are combined. And there are always plenty of candidates for these professions. There is an appeal to the unselfish and heroic. The boy feels that he is entering the service of the State. He is to live, and, if necessary, die for his country. His patriotism is appealed to. Courage and self-sacrifice are demanded of him. On the other hand candidates for the military or naval academy are carefully selected, so that it is already a distinction to be accepted as such. And they are trained to carry themselves properly and to dress well. Army and navy officers constitute an aristocracy. They are admitted into the best society. They associate with the best people. There is no question about their employment. The government which educated them gives them work. Their remuneration also is certain and it is twice as large as that of the ministry, a class of men of at least equally high character and training. The army and navy officer is advanced as he grows older and with each advance his salary is largely increased, and at sixty-five years of age he is retired on half pay. The older ministers in the church, other things being equal, often get smaller salaries than the younger ones, and there is little provision made for their old age. In times of war the soldier may win great distinction, and a few obtain lasting fame. There is not much prospect of a minister's attaining anything of this kind.

3. Another reason for the decrease of candidates for the ministry may be found in the great opportunities for secular work which are presented to young men in this age. The organization of society—the industries, the business and the professions—presents many openings for pleasant, gentlemanly and remunerative employment, which were comparatively unknown in former times. Much of the manual labor

of the country is done by recent emigrants, whilst our American youth find employment as clerks, managers, agents, telegraph operators, book-keepers, auditors, and so on; and there is a constant demand for young men for these lines of work at fair salaries. The country has never seen a more prosperous period than that which we are passing through at the present time. Mines and mills have been multiplying. All industries are flourishing. Crops have been abundant and the acreage under cultivation is increasing year by year. The supply of money is sufficient, its circulation is unhindered and the sums on deposit are enormous. Wages and salaries are high and go up from time to time, and so an increasing number of openings are found for young men in the industrial and business enterprises of the age. With less than half the time and money spent in general and special training which a candidate for the ministry needs to prepare himself for his work, young men are fitted for good positions at fair salaries in industrial and business enterprises. Because it is comparatively easy to obtain a position and a comfortable salary in worldly work, of the large majority of young men going into such work, no doubt many might under other circumstances enter the ministry. With all a young man's will power, and making due account of the high ideals which are apt to be strong in youth, the line of least resistance has much to do, in many cases, in determining the choice of a profession. It is probably true that in dull times the candidates for the ministry increase and in good times they decrease. Nor are young men to be wholly condemned for this. There is a legitimate secular side to life, and a true Christian philosophy will make account of it.

In prosperous times the division of charges and the organization of new congregations and the establishment of new missions at home and abroad as well as the endowment of additional professorships in our colleges and seminaries goes on much more rapidly also than in dull times, and there is an increased demand for ministers to fill these positions, and

when there is no corresponding increase of ministers the absence of it is severely felt. In our Church during the last twenty years many country charges have been divided and many new congregations have been organized in growing towns and cities. Our general financial prosperity, as far as such progress depends upon money, has made this possible. A considerable number of younger men have gone to Japan and China and to the west and to new missions in towns and cities. Some have been taken out of the pastorate and appointed to professorships, and there has been no corresponding increase of candidates for the positions formerly existing in the pastorate or newly created. In a word, the prosperity of the country has had the effect of multiplying places for pastors and, at the same time, of interfering with the disposition of young men to select the ministry as a calling, and has thus done much to bring about the present scarcity of ministers. The number of congregations to be served has been increasing, owing to our prosperity, much more rapidly than the number of persons qualified to serve them, owing to the same prosperity.

4. The intensity with which the power of religious convictions lays hold upon men has much to do with the plentifulness or scarcity of candidates for the ministry. When the Church is profoundly impressed with the claims of Christ upon its members for personal service, when it feels deeply the need of the world for the Salvation offered in the Gospel the natural effect will be that a burning desire will arise in the hearts of many young men to become heralds of the cross.

Our present life is many-sided. Various interests absorb our attention. We have a family and social life, an intellectual, a business and a political life. It may easily come about that in the number and force of the things claiming our attention from these various departments the claims of Christ for services in the spread of the Gospel may be relegated to the background. We forget that His advice to the disciples to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness is in a

degree applicable to all men. The Church should have a place in the hearts of all her members peculiar to herself, before which everything else should be made to give way. This may be insisted on and recognized and cultivated in one family or congregation or in one denomination more than in others. This spirit characterizes some congregations and communities especially. Men and women disposed to feel the force of the paramount claim of the Gospel naturally find a home in such churches. And it is from such communities and churches and families that most of our candidates for the ministry come. The cause of the scarcity of candidates for the ministry is no doubt to be found, in part, in the want of warmth in our Christian life. We are too indifferent to the claims of the Gospel. Hence our sons prefer a secular career to that of the ministry of reconciliation.

This statement of the causes for the scarcity of candidates for the ministry indicates the remedies for this state of things, and the discussion of these needs be but brief.

(*a*) In laying upon the hearts and minds of young men the claims of the Gospel ministry as a calling, we should perhaps appeal more than we have been in the habit of doing, in recent years, to the spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism in the human makeup. To endure hardness for Christ and for men's Salvation is at least as heroic as to do this for wife and children and native land; and this should be pointed out and insisted upon. It is true. It is a legitimate motive of action. Why should it not be urged upon men? It had its influence in times past. It will no doubt have its influence now, if we make proper use of it.

(*b*) On the other hand it might be well to endeavor to make the position of the ministry a more honorable and comfortable one, from a point of view not strictly religious. To this end more discrimination might be used in the acceptance of candidates for the ministry. They might be subjected to severer physical, mental and moral tests before being admitted to the ranks of those preparing for the sacred calling. The position

of an accepted candidate for the ministry would then already be a distinction in the eyes of men and a legitimate object of a laudable ambition. It is such now from the highest point of view. Might it not be made such on a somewhat lower plane, inasmuch as all men cannot appreciate that which is highest? Then provision might be made that every man, when once fully admitted to the ministry, until he should prove himself entirely unfitted for the office and be forbidden to exercise its functions, should have regular employment. It is humiliating to a sensitive nature to seek a field of labor or to remain in one when no longer giving entire satisfaction. And as things now are the minister is often compelled to do this. Provision should also be made that the minister should have such financial support as to enable him to occupy without embarrassment his place among men of like education and culture with himself. Finally, the Church should perhaps see to it that at least moderate provision be made for the maintenance of her ministers after the age of sixty-five years, either by giving them employment suitable to their years or retiring them upon a pension, should they have no sufficient private provision for their support.

Just to what extent the two causes just mentioned are the true causes of the scarcity of candidates for the ministry, and how the corresponding remedies may be applied in all their minute details the writer will not attempt to say. He will only suggest that they are perhaps worthy of consideration.

(*c*) The suggestion that in prosperous times many who might under other conditions enter the ministry are drawn into secular lines of work is no doubt true. For this no remedy growing out of the state of business is to be sought. Financial prosperity or the reverse is not within the control of the church. And if it were possible to do so, it would not be wise to change good times into bad times for the sake of having the ranks of the ministry recruited. The remedy here lies in the use of means disconnected with our financial affairs. It would perhaps be true to say that it is indicated by a discussion of the fourth point.

(*d*) The fourth reason mentioned for the scarcity of candidates for the ministry is a strictly religious one: viz., the lack of intensity in our religious convictions and feelings, of enthusiasm for the cause of Christ and the salvation of souls, the general absence of that overpowering strength of the claims of the Gospel upon our lives and services which a few men in every age of the church have felt. It is the aim of the Church, of course, to have every convert feel that the Kingdom of God and His righteousness is of supreme account. These overshadow altogether mental culture, secular comforts, financial success, professional eminence, high position or great fame. "The love of Christ constraineth us," says the great apostle. Every Christian feels this, no doubt. But we do not all feel it in the same degree. If we could all be made to feel it more than we do the claims of the Gospel would have more power over us. We would gladly consecrate a larger percentage of our time, labor and money to the work of Christ in the world, more parents would be willing and anxious to give their sons to the ministry, and educate them for the work, and more young men would be found to devote themselves to the sacred calling, notwithstanding all the hindrances in the way. As love to God grows cold the ranks of the ministry become depleted. As love to God grows warm the vacant places of the watchmen upon the wall of Zion will be occupied. More faithful preaching and more importunate prayer for the presence of the grace of God and for the presence and power of the Spirit will overcome the Church's coldness and promote the earnestness and zeal for Christ and the objects for which He was revealed and will so multiply the heralds of the cross that the waste places of the Church will blossom and be made fruitful.

The condition discussed in this paper is a grave one. It is worthy of earnest investigation. Some of its causes and remedies have been spoken of here. There may be many others. We should not shrink from looking the situation in the face. That would be cowardly. To open our eyes to, and acknowl-

edge the existence of, an undesirable state of things, is the first step in its correction. We should meditate upon our present scarcity of ministers and of candidates for the ministry, talk about it, write about it, preach upon it, pray over it, and add our efforts to our prayers to have it corrected. Above all, "pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into His harvest." How often in the history of individuals and of the church has man's extremity proved God's opportunity.

VIII.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

BY THE REV. A. S. WEBER, D.D.

What Would Jesus Do?

Much of Christian life in our day, it may be said in a general way, springs from the answer men give to this inquiry. Much of its superficiality, no doubt, is due to this fact. In some way the question has come to be a popular test of correct moral conduct and of faithfulness to religious principle. The desire to imitate Him who is man's great Exemplar is of course in every one and everywhere a praiseworthy ambition. The attempt to realize the desire must almost necessarily result in elevating and beautifying the conduct and character of individuals, as well as in transforming and bettering social relations and conditions. So far as Jesus can be taken as an example for man's imitation, the purpose so widely characteristic of present-day life may be frankly recognized as having a real value and significance. Not a word in disparagement of it need be spoken.

At the same time, however, it is well to be reminded that this principle of imitation can be practically applied only to a narrowly limited area of human life and duty, of religious privilege, and for abiding comfort. A test, much more far-reaching than the popular one here under reference, it would seem, should be available to support us in our conviction that we are entitled to be called Christians, and to inspire in us a steadfast devotion to "the upward calling of God" which the Gospel addresses to us. The subjective evidence arising for us out of our personal efforts to follow the footsteps of Jesus, is not equal to our needs. It is not only inadequate even

when at its best; it is too variable also, and uncertain a quantity to carry the weight of life's real perplexities and burdens. The true test of the reality and significance of our religion, must cover life in its entirety, must be capable of directing us in all our affairs and experiences, and must lend itself to the solution of our gravest problems and deepest mysteries.

Convictions like these, it is gratifying to note, are in current thought receiving proper expression. Thinking men are protesting on the one hand against the making of the question, 'What would Jesus do?' a universally binding law of life for us, and on the other hand they are suggesting the richer, the all-embracing fact, that in our 'mystical union with Christ' —the fact which Christian faith accepts and in the knowledge of which it rejoices,—there resides the power which is sufficient to supply all the needs of man and to support him in all his experiences. Dr. John Watson, for instance, in a recent contribution to an English theological journal makes an incidental observation which is to the point on the question under consideration. With the clear insight that so often characterizes his utterances, he declares that "the necessary difference in the attitude of Christ to the public life of his day, and of the Church to the life of our day, makes it a specious and pernicious fallacy to suppose that we can and ought to regulate our action by the question 'What would Jesus do?' as if there were no difference in the environment of men, and no difference in function between Christ and Christians." He leaves no one in doubt as to the final disposition he makes of this method of regulating one's course of life and developing one's character, and the grounds on which he rests his conclusions seem thoroughly valid.

Equally explicit and apropos are the contentions on the same topic of the great scholar to whom Dr. Watson is so largely indebted for the literary prominence he is enjoying. In an address before the National Free Church Council at Birmingham, England, last March, the Editor of the *Ex-*

positor used the following striking language: "Though many who use the phrase employ it without evil intention, yet certainly we are to condemn the counsel, 'Be Christs.' There is only one Christ; there is one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus. There is one Head crowned and annointed, and only one. For the rest, it is sufficient that they should be Christians, sharing in the benefits of his life, his death, and his resurrection triumph. We can indeed say of him most surely that he walked in Palestine more unerringly than Plato or Confucius, or any great teacher of the world, in the sphere appointed him. It was he and he alone who never swerved from the straight paths of righteousness and love. But we want to do more than follow him in these ways. We have to set our feet in paths he never trod, and we want the strength to keep us true. Assuredly, Christianity is the manifestation of the life that is an example. But we want more than a flawless example. We need the mystical union. We need to take, in its full strength, the truth that we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and that he lives now as a human body with a human soul, and imparts life to the frail and trembling spirits that stumble in their following of his way."

Those who have an intelligent grasp of the Master's own teachings concerning the absolute necessity to "abide in him and he in us" need not be told that such views have beneath them the revealed mind of Christ himself, nor that his mind is dominant in the theology of the apostolic writings and in the whole field of the personal lives of their authors. It was not the example of the earthly career of Jesus, but the realized union of the early disciples with the glorified Person of Christ, that constituted for them the well-spring of their regenerate and restored humanity. It was the mystical union that constituted for them, the source whence they received the new power which irradiated their lives and gave such a convincing and converting power to the words they spoke in the name

of Christ. To their personal, living union with the enthroned Lord, they owed the splendor of their hallowed characters,—a splendor which burst upon sinful and suffering humanity with an effect similar to that of strong, spring sunshine upon sleeping nature. It brought forth new life, it scattered new hope and cheer among men everywhere, it was the revelation of the mystery hid from the ages, Christ's own presence in his followers. This is the great truth of the Gospel which to-day is deserving of renewed emphasis. Its realization and proclamation give power and efficaciousness to Christian effort in general, and to the office of the holy Ministry in particular. With it, the preacher of the Gospel delivers his message in the power of God,—without it, his words are less than sounding brass, or a clanging cymbal.

The realization of the personal, living union of the Christian with Christ, just referred to, is a matter of faith, however, rather than of conscious experience. Dr. Nicoll whom we have above quoted, in our judgment rightly insists on this phase of the truth. "What we need," he says, "is a union with the glorified Son of the Father, which exists when we are not conscious of it. That is, our union with Christ is not identical with communion. Sometimes the glory of the union is consciously realized, more often it is obscured. It is there however all the while, faith knows, whether the cloud abides or lifts." If anyone is in doubt as to the importance and far-reaching value attaching to this feature of Christianity thus emphasized, let him read an article written by the late Professor Thomas G. Apple, D.D., on "Christian Life Deeper than Conscious Experience," published in the thirtieth volume of this Review.* That article is not only one of the richest and most illuminating of the many preserved in the pages of this Journal from his keen intellect and warm religious heart, —it ranks really as one of the foremost contributions made in the last generation by American philosophical scholars, to theological literature.

* Issue of January, 1883, pp. 40–64.

In language that is as clear and gracious as it is profound and conclusive, it discusses the question at issue from the psychological and historical view-points, and shows the deceptive and dangerous nature of the fallacies against which the learned writers above mentioned, are now arguing. After referring to the theological controversies which for a generation prior to the publication of this powerful dissertation, had disturbed the peace of our Church, as "an honorable historic struggle that tested to the utmost its strength and unity," he observes, that it ended "in settling us the more firmly, intelligently, and unitedly upon the basis of our venerable and tried Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism." Among the great truths contained in that Confession, he then instances these as of central and universal importance, namely,—that "the religion of Christ is a new *Life,* begotten in the soul by the Holy Spirit, through the Word of God; that as Life, it is broad and deep as the nature of man, reaching the inmost depths of the human spirit, and renewing the whole of our humanity; that it is not measured by our personal knowledge or conscious experience; and that it is joined in indissoluble union with the divine life of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which vital union with this sourse of life it is preserved from destruction." The soul, supported by faith in the revealed truth of this living union with Christ, the incarnate Son of God, one can readily perceive, rests on ground infinitely more secure, than that which can be subjectively provided by asking merely, "What would Jesus do?"

The Authority of Christ.

Several years ago the British press issued a book entitled "The Christ of History and Experience," the contents of which many regard as permanently important in the development and progress of Christian Theology. It deals with the problem of Christology, which the Abbe Loisy says, has been "la vie et le tourment" of the Church, in a way that com-

mands the reverent attention and abundantly rewards the most careful study of its wealth-laden pages. From the beginning to the end of its several chapters, the book shows its author's work to be the result not only of competent theological and philosophical knowledge, of a sincere desire to know and expound the truth as it is in Jesus, and of faith in him as the incarnate Son of God and the Saviour of mankind; but likewise of heroic courage in setting aside traditional theories which in the light of modern historic and scientific research do no longer command the assent of religious conviction. The book does all this with such a satisfactory balance of discriminating judgment, such enlightening power and winsomeness of spirit and vigor of language, that the few references American writers have been seen to make to the author, lead one to infer that as yet he has not received in our country the attention to which he is so preeminently entitled.

During the sessions of the Alliance of Reformed Churches held at Liverpool in 1904, these views of the Rev. Dr. Forrest, to whose authorship we owe the volume, were justified and established by the ability he displayed in discussing certain controverted biblical questions in their relations to Christ and his teachings. Probably but few of the Americans then privileged to hear him, identified the speaker as the author of the volume under notice, but everyone, it is certain from the attention he commanded and the applause he received, recognized him as a man having uncommon equipment of learning and most felicitous powers of literary expression. Those delegates of the Reformed Church in the United States who were present on the occasion, one may venture to add, were amazed and gratified to hear him speak as he did, in their "own tongue the wonderful works of God," after they had listened to a number of traditionalists dilating upon views that seemed foreign to the thought that rules among us. It was no surprise, therefore, to see so many of our brethren gathering around Dr. Forrest after the adjournment of the session,

with the desire of personally meeting him and thanking him, on discovering his identity, for the helpful book he had written on the historical and spiritual nature and significance of Christ.

From the Edinburgh publishers of the admirable book which has brought this author the deserved fame he is enjoying, there has just now come another volume* which, if possible, lays thinking men under still greater obligation to this Scotch theologian. It bears the title which is placed at the head of this article, and which will at once suggest that in it, the subject treated in the earlier book and discussed in some of its aspects in the Liverpool addresses, is continued and more fully elaborated. Readers of the desultory observations appearing in successive issues of this REVIEW on current religious and theological thought, will readily agree with a recent wide-awake writer, that "no questions grip the public mind more closely to-day than the application of the teaching of Jesus to public and private life." Men everywhere are asking, he correctly affirms, "what has Jesus to say, directly or indirectly, either in principle or detail, upon such matters as the interpretation of Holy Scripture, the character of God, the destiny of man,—in one department of thought; and the relation of the Church and State, the function of the State in religious education, the standard of morals for the State,—in another department?" And when one qualified as Dr. Forrest has shown himself to be, essays to give answer to such and kindred inquiries, it goes without saying, more than ordinary interest will thereby be elicited.

Believing, as our author reports himself as doing, that "there is no religious problem which more urgently requires consideration at the present time," than that to the solution of which he is here addressing himself, it is not strange that he should begin by studying the Christological foundations

* "The Authority of Christ," by David W. Forrest, D.D. Cloth, pp. 437. T. and T. Clarke, Edinburgh, 1906.

underlying the problem. Two luminous chapters are devoted to this study. The first deals with the "Recognition of Christ as the Incarnate Son," whilst the second points out the "Illegitimate Extension of Christ's Authority," as developed in the course of the Church's history. In the former one the authority of Jesus is shown to be grounded on the two qualities of his personal sinlessness, and his mediatorship or lordship. The place of Christ's resurrection in the argument for his Deity, he shows also, is not for us what it was for the Apostles. In his view the sinlessness of Jesus must be based on the evidence of his own consciousness, *and* that of historical investigations, which latter the Ritschlian school contends is only a "value-judgment" of Christian faith. Moreover, he insists that in the interests of spiritual experience, it is important to distinguish clearly between Christ as incarnating the life of God, and Christ as the beloved Son of the Father, who gave him for the saving of the world. The bearing and forcefulness of his argument on the latter point may be illustrated by quoting two of his sentences: "The self-sacrifice of Christ is a self-sacrifice on the part of the divine nature, and it consists not simply in what, as the Son of man, he suffered, but supremely in what he abandoned that he might become man. . . . We may talk as we will of the love of God for sinners, but if love does not mean for him, sacrifice as it means for us, and in a sense infinitely transcending ours, then it fails to answer our ultimate question and to meet our inmost necessity."

The method pursued and the conclusions reached in dealing with what are regarded by him as unwarranted extensions of Christ's authority, are equally lucid and convincing. "To me," he declares, "it seems that those who maintain a genuine historical Incarnation of the Son of God have not always sufficiently recognized the limitations inherent in an Incarnate life, nor how vital is the illumination of the Spirit, operating through the best activities of men's minds and hearts, for the

discovery of what Christ's authoritative message really is." With the Church in all ages, he recognizes the authority of Christ as final, but only in the realm which, according to the Scriptures, it really is intended to cover. Christ's word is final as to "what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man," but in regions beyond, such as history and science, literature and art, to which his authority has been extended, certain interpretations of it must be ruled out as arbitrary and unfounded. "History shows that it is the abiding temptation and recurring blunder of all schools of religious thought" to yield to such an extension of Christ's authority. "The Jews missed the vision of the Messiah when he appeared, because they were certain they knew 'by what methods' God would interpose for their deliverance, and scouted the idea that the Annointed of the Lord would come without the credentials of external splendor and kingly authority. Roman Catholicism thinks it knows 'by what methods' God would declare his will, regards it as plainly absurd that he would vouchsafe a revelation recorded in a book without granting us an authorized interpreter of it, and so is swept into all the extravagances of Papal Infallibility. Protestantism in many of its forms is equally certain that *it* knows the proper conditions and methods of God's self-manifestation, and repudiates the notion of an infallible interpreter, but insists on a literally infallible record as indispensable, and carries on a hopeless struggle against physical science, biblical criticism and comparative religion," quoting the while the supposed authority of Christ's words in various forms for its vindication. The latter error arises from taking a mistaken, Docetic, and unreal view of Christ's humanity, —a view against which it is important for the Church at all times to register emphatic protest. One who has written in appreciation of Dr. Forrest's conspicuous services in this matter, is thoroughly right in saying that "the clear and careful statement of the limitations of our Lord's life, on earth

as given in this book, will prove most serviceable; for just as an abstruse mathematical formula may secure the safety of an iron bridge, so a true idea of Christ's humanity will save anxious believers from quoting Christ's references to Old Testament Scripture as if they were dicta in the region of higher criticism, and from being concerned because he has not anticipated the theory of evolution."

The next two chapters of the book are devoted respectively, to the consideration of Christ's authority "on God," and "on individual duty." To these, no doubt, the reader of the volume will turn with the keenest interest, and in them he will find a wealth of comment and criticism, of suggestive guidance to correct thought and sound support to intelligent faith, such as will bring rich compensation for the time and attention given to them. After accentuating once more the distinctive sphere where Christ's authority rules, and defining the *kind* of authority which belongs to him Dr. Forrest proceeds to show that the revelation of God which we owe to Christ, resides not merely in what Jesus taught but in what he was, and that he fixes on the ethical quality in man as the *organon* for attaining unto the knowledge of the Deity he revealed. In other words, the verification of ethical and religious truth in general is conditioned by the "venture of faith," and belief in the Father in particular, is not primarily intellectual, but ethical, and attainable therefore along the path of duty through the distinctively spiritual side of our being. Christ appeals to that which is universal in man, and the reason why there are so many in whom his attestation of God, as Father, awakes no response is twofold: In some it is due to moral disloyalty, whilst in others it is due to too narrow an idea of what Truth is, and the application of the methods of physical science in their search after it in the spiritual realm. Certain instruments of knowledge may be valid to reach the ends sought after in one sphere, but wholly wrong and useless if employed in another. The bear-

ing of this upon the problem of suffering is illuminatingly discussed, and the reason why the "remorseless cruelties" of the natural world are not fatal to the Christian belief of God as love, satisfyingly pointed out.

His treatment of individual duty in the light of a true apprehension of Christ's authority, shows the fallacy of putting a literal interpretation, as Tolstoy and Seeley do, upon such utterances as "Resist not him that is evil," "Give to him that asketh thee," and "From him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away." The commandments of Christ must often be divested of the particular *form* in which he put them, in order that their *intention* may be fulfilled by his followers. So also his acts are not designed to be matters of our formal imitation. Just as the Apostles were not determined by the precedents of his earthly career, but by the guidance they received through the Spirit of their living Lord, so his faithful followers in all ages are most loyal to him by keeping the soul open to spiritual influence and obeying the motions thus inspired.

Space forbids us to follow, even in barest outline, the course of thought contained in the three remaining chapters this timely and practically useful contribution to the religious literature of our day. We can only add that the discussion of Christ's authority "on corporate duty" and "on human destiny" reveals the same broad and competent grasp of scholarship and spirituality on the part of the author, and that the concluding chapter on the "Incarnation and the Holy Spirit," inspired by a simple faith and loftiest religious ideals, is alone worth a hundred times over the cost of the book. It is confidently believed that the book should speedily find its way into the hands of hundreds of thoughtful and growing preachers in all churches.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

IX.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

"The Book of Common Worship."

One of the principal features of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., at Des Moines, Ia., was the report of the Committee on Forms and Services. It was appointed by the General Assembly of 1903, continued in 1904, and, after a partial report in 1905, was enlarged by the addition of five ministers, making a membership of eleven ministers and five elders. A final report was submitted at Des Moines in the form of "The Book of Common Worship, published by authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, for Voluntary Use in the Churches." According to the account of the proceedings of the Assembly published in the *Presbyterian,* "a vigorous debate immediately arose upon presentation of the report of the committeee to prepare a book of forms and services. This became so spirited and lengthy that action was deferred until the next day. The opposition to the adoption of the book was very strong. The final conclusion was that all new editions of the book published by the Board of Publication shall contain on the title page that the book was prepared by a committee of the General Assembly for voluntary use. This sends the book forth on its merits without any authoritative adoption by the Assembly, and without any recommendation to the churches to use it. It is a matter of opinion with the individual church." In the course of discussion of the report an opportunity was afforded the opponents for all manner of undesirable expressions. "Canned prayers" were spoken of. The Prayer-Book "smelled of priestcraft." The tendency to ritualism and formalism was

deplored. Jennie Geddes, hurling her stool at the Dean of Edinburgh because he read his prayers, was held up for admiration. With it all, however, the work of the committee, while not adopted, was accepted as suitable for use in those congregations who desired a book of forms in the conduct of worship.

The demand for a book of worship came from every section of the Presbyterian Church. The committee was appointed in response to overtures from the Presbytery of Denver and the Synod of New York—the East and West united in the petition. By a letter of inquiry to the churches the general feelings and wishes of the denomination in reference to a "more thoughtful and beautiful worship" were brought to light. The conclusion of these inquiries was reported as follows: "These figures show beyond question: first, that the movement toward an order of service with responsive features is already going on in three-fourths of our churches; second, that nine-tenths of our ministers desire improvement and better order in the conduct of worship generally in our church; third, that almost all of our ministers wish the people to take part in the service; fourth, that nearly nine-tenths of our ministers wish for more unity in Presbyterian worship, if it can be voluntarily brought about; and finally, that more than four-fifths of them feel the need of a book of forms." With the encouragement which the committee had received in the previous Assemblies and the knowledge of the wide-spread tendencies in favor of a more uniform service, it could with confidence present its work to the last Assembly, although a majority might become painfully demonstrative in its opposition.

Yet when one examines the preface and the directions for the use of the book, it is hard to see how objections could be raised to it. The committee remained true to the instructions given it by the Assembly of 1903. The second resolution reads as follows: "That in the preparation of these voluntary services the committee be instructed to draw from the Holy

Scriptures and the usage of the Reformed Churches; to avoid those forms which savor of ritualism; to embody sound doctrine in the language of orderly devotion, and to keep ever in mind the end of Presbyterian worship, which is that all the people should join in the service of God as He is revealed in Jesus Christ." It is true in the preface of the Book of Common Worship a statement is made which seems to violate the instructions of the Assembly. "We have searched the Holy Scriptures, the usage of the Reformed Churches, and *the devotional treasures of early Christianity,* for the most noble, clear, and moving expressions of the Spirit of Praise and Prayer." The last clause might be regarded objectionable by the sons of puritans but apparently no one entered a protest against it. It is interesting to the readers of the REVIEW that a similar plan of procedure was adopted by the liturgical committee in the Reformed Church. In the report of the committee to the Synod of Baltimore, 1852, the position was taken that the new liturgy ought not to be shaped simply after modern models, referring only to the Old Palatinate and other Reformed liturgies of the sixteenth century but that the general basis of the work should be "the liturgical worship of the primitive church as far as this can be ascertained from the Holy Scriptures, the oldest ecclesiastical writers, and the Greek and Latin Churches of the third and fourth centuries." It was this broad conception of the legitimate field from which to gather liturgical forms which became a source of bitter controversy in the Reformed Church. To-day the Presbyterians accept a similar basis in the preparation of their liturgy without question.

The church is further safeguarded against ritualism and formalism by numerous statements scattered through the book. We read in the Preface sentences like the following: "Among those Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ which follow the Presbyterian rule and order, Liberty of Worship has been esteemed a most precious privilege and inheritance." "This Book of Common Worship is, therefore, not to be taken

in anywise as a liturgy imposed by authority." "None of the Forms of Service in this Book are intended to be in any sense obligatory." In reading over the Order of Morning Service on the Lord's Day one finds a number of conciliating directions. "If any church so desire the Service may begin with the SENTENCES." "Let the People reverently bow down while the Minister leads them in the INVOCATION, using if he will one of the following Prayers." "The People may say this Confession with the Minister." The Gloria Patri "may be said or sung." "In any or all of these Adorations, etc., the Minister, if he will, may use any of the Prayers given in this Book under the tile of Treasury of Prayers." A minister, afflicted with indecision, may have to pass through sore trials before he has made up his mind what he *shall* do after he has read all the "may dos." One feels, also, that Presbyterians might unite in the prayer, "Lord we are not liturgical; yet if Thou canst, make us so." Many things must be read, however, in the light of the committee's report in 1905, in the conclusion of which the following statement was made: "We beg you to remember the extreme difficulty and the delicacy of the task laid upon us; the impossibility of following individual tastes and local customs; the necessity of giving up personal preferences, in order to reach a common ground of unity." Considering these difficulties the work of the committee has been most satisfactorily performed. So far as we can learn the objections on the floor of the General Assembly or in the church papers have not been against the quality of the forms and services offered but against all forms and services to be read from a book. This is a species of puritan intolerance which happily the Presbyterian Church has outgrown, or which it never inherited from its founders. Forms of service were used in most, if not all, of the Reformed or Calvinistic churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We need only mention the liturgy of John Calvin, Knox's Book of Common Order, and the Palatinate Liturgy. Prayers were prescribed for the different services of the Church, without, how-

ever, prohibiting free prayer. That is the historic position of the Reformed churches on the question of worship,* and to be truly Reformed is to be free to use liturgical forms or to conduct a service without the use of a book. To limit a congregation to one form of service, whether liturgical or free, is to surrender one of the most pecious principles of Protestantism and to lapse into the bondage of Romanism. Whether a congregation should adopt one or another form of service depends on its previous customs and usages, on the dictates of Christian reason, and on the principles of Christian cultus defined in the light of the Scriptures, the experience of Christians in all ages, and the principles of pedagogy and æsthetics.

Forms and services are offered for the following occasions: The Order of Morning Service, The Order of Evening Service, A Brief Order of Worship, The Commandments, The Beatitudes, The Order for the Celebration of the Communion, The Order for the Administration of Baptism to Infants, The Order for the Administration of Baptism to Adults, The Order for the Confirmation of Baptismal Vows, An Order for the Reception of Communicants from Other Churches, The Order for the Solemnization of Marriage, The Order for the Burial of the Dead, The Order for the Licensing of Candidates to Preach the Gospel, The Order for the Ordination of Ministers, The Order for the Installation of a Pastor who has been Previously Ordained, The Order for the Ordination of Ruling Elders, The Order for the Installation of Ruling Elders who have been Previously Ordained, The Order for the Ordination of Deacons, The Order for the Laying of the Corner-Stone of a Church, The Order for the Dedication of a

* "It was only the narrower section of Puritanism which was opposed to prayer-books. This opposition was stronger in Scotland than in England because of historical circumstances. The opposition to liturgies in England was rather on the part of the Independents." American Presbyterianism by Briggs, p. 35. "Those who in later times sought to prescribe *against* the use of written prayers and to impose upon others their view of the exclusion of certain things, went into the teeth of the views of the Westminster divines." Idem, p. 37, footnote.

Church, The Treasury of Prayers which includes prayers for Common Worship, Special Seasons and Occasions, and Family Prayers, The Psalter, and The Ancient Hymns and Canticles. The completeness of the work is particularly commendable.

The material for the services is taken from the Bible, the ancient and modern liturgies, and devotional writings of all ages. Prayers are credited to the Liturgy of St. James, St. Thomas Aquinas, the Scottish Church Common Order, the Order of Worship of the Reformed Church in America, etc. Three of the collects in the Evening Service are taken from the Order of Worship, not as the committee reports in 1905, of the Reformed Church in America, but of the Reformed Church in the United States. A place is given in the Morning Service for the Confession of Sin, the Assurance of Pardon, the Creed, the Gloria Patri, and the Lord's Prayer. Responses for the people are called for at several places and the Psalms are to be read responsively. The General Prayer may be read as prescribed in the Treasury of Prayers or offered freely by the minister. No account is taken of the Church Year. Yet a remarkable concession is made in that direction in the provision of Prayers for New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Day, Advent, and Christmas. A century ago a Presbyterian judicatory would probably have denounced such an order without debate. The order for the Holy Communion is prepared according to the instructions given in the Westminster Directory for Worship and the Amended Directory for Worship. "Passages from the Confession of Faith, the Larger Catechism, and Knox's Book of Common Order are carefully wrought into the service. The faith of the Reformed Church in regard to the Sacraments is expressed in the language of devotion." In the marriage service the word "obey" is omitted in the promise required of the woman. She is simply asked to pledge her troth to the husband. The Treasury of Prayers contains a valuable selection of Adorations, Thanksgivings, Supplications, Intercessions, and Family Prayers.

They ought to be in the hands of every minister and distributed for use in separate form in the families of the church. The Psalter printed for responsive readings contains selections appropriate for the festivals in the Church Year, and other occasions such as Thanksgiving Days and National Days. The Ancient Hymns and Canticles bring the congregation in touch with the Church universal in all ages and breathe a spirit of catholicity into worship which can only work in the interest of Christian union and fellowship throughout the world.

There are some features, however, which may be justly criticised. The attitude of the worshipper is not a matter of vital importance. The bowing of the head in prayer is an old Presbyterian, or perhaps a Methodist, custom. In the interest of order and dignity in worship we should prefer the standing or kneeling posture. The bowing of the head is neither one nor the other and reminds one of a compromise in favor of the convenience of the worshipper and not in accord with the reverential spirit of worship. Of course the committee was bound in this respect by previous usage, and it would not have been wise to require a change of posture in the new Order of Service. It is somewhat confusing for the congregation to be reminded by an asterisk that the article in the Creed, " He descended into hell," may be read, " He continued in the state of the dead, and under the power of death, until the third day." Why not omit it altogether or decide on one form or the other for use? In doctrinal treatises such differences ought to be noted, but not in a form of worship.

A very beautiful prayer for the dedication of the offering is prescribed. But why should we dedicate the offering, which is a regular part of the service, any more than we dedicate the singing, the preaching, and the praying? The service is not strengthened but weakened by such a prayer. It is a violation of liturgical principles and of the conception of the service as a whole, all of which is an offering of thanksgiving and praise.

A liturgy is more than an æsthetic product. Pure taste, literary culture, and the desire for order and harmony in

worship are not sufficient for the making of an order of worship. The genius of the denomination itself must be in harmony with the liturgical spirit. The collection of the choicest prayers, hymns, and responses of the church catholic and the arrangement of them according to a definite plan may not result in a satisfactory service. A liturgy should be of one cast, a single creation, ruled throughout by the presence of a central idea; in this respect like a poem or other work of art. We fail to find this element in the Book of Common Worship. It is chaste, has an excellent literary style, shows a broad Christian spirit, and is true to the doctrines of the church, but it lacks that indefinable something which we may designate as the unity and symmetry of a single creation. Three years are scarcely sufficient for the preparation of a book of forms which will meet all the liturgical requirements. The history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States is not favorable to the preparation of an order of worship. It took at least a generation to prepare the Order of Worship of the Reformed Church in the United States. The latter may be open to criticism on some of its doctrinal tendencies, but as a work of art it is not excelled by any order in this country. We would call attention to the Evening Service and the Service for Holy Communion as models of liturgical form.

It is not an accident that the demand for a book of common worship came soon after the revision of the Confession of Faith. The two movements come from the same source. The revision was the result of a deeper and broader Christian consciousness in the Presbyterian Church. The view-point and the theological conceptions of the present day are so different from those of the past that the Westminster standards no longer express the living faith of the church. There are many indeed who are trying to convince themselves that the revision was not a modification and that the Declaratory Statement is only an explanation of the original confession. No one will attempt to argue with those who have settled upon that conclusion. Argument would be love's labor lost. But

there are doubtless some who appreciate the fact that the spirit of the Declaratory statement is altogether different from the Confession of Faith. It was the only thing that could be done at the time but the hour will come when a new garment must be cut out of new cloth; the new wine must be put into new bottles. The evangelical experience of the twentieth century must have a form of sound words corresponding to it. The revision was an evidence of living and growing faith in the church and an effort to cast off the outgrown elements in the confession.

A true liturgical movement is also an impulse of faith; a new appreciation of the unity, continuity and catholicity of the church; an attempt to set aside sectarianism, bigotry, and provincial intolerance. What revision signified in doctrine, the Book of Forms indicates in cultus. Both are the products of a new consciousness in the church.

A similar movement is traceable in the Established Church of Scotland in the last century. It was led by Norman Macleod, John Tulloch, and Robert Lee. Mrs. Oliphant, in a chapter of Tulloch's Memoir says of it: "For the first time a longing for freer air and an expanded atmosphere came with the quick growth of renewed existence. It awoke in the open, liberal, and dispassionate mind of Principal Tulloch, in one department of thought and life; in the large, fervent, sympathetic nature of Norman Macleod in another; and in the precise and keen intellect of Robert Lee in a third. All of them were roused by one impulse—seized by a longing after a communion more extended than that which was confined within the limits of a scientific system of doctrine and a certain number of centuries. They bethought themselves that the Apostles' Creed was older and wider and simpler than the Westminster Confession; that the laws of God had been revealed before ever the Reformers were thought of, and that prayer and praise had not been invented in the sixteenth century. . . . Their minds had taken a new turn, unprecedented in Scottish ways. A longing for something 'more Catholic, more mag-

nanimous,' as Irving had said in a previous generation, came upon them." Those men, like the American revisionists, were accused of being bent on the destruction of the Faith, of effacing the historic identity of the Presbyterian cultus, and of bringing in the old ways of the "Scarlet Woman." Yet the result has not been harmful. The sixth edition of the Book of Common Order appeared in 1890, issued by the Church Service Society of Scotland. The Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., has been and is now going through the same stage of development as the Scottish Church fifty years ago. The Reformed Church in the United States has passed through a similar controversy affecting not only cultus but doctrine and polity. It has been beneficial both in liberalizing its spirit in reference to doctrine and in awakening its energies in the direction of practical activity.

We, accordingly, welcome the changes in the Church of the Westminster Confession. We believe in the revision and in the spirit of The Book of Common Worship. While the question of church union is discussed by the representatives of the Heidelberg Catechism and of the Westminster Confession, we are convinced that if the latter continued to progress in the decades to come as they have advanced in the past decades, they will be prepared to lay aside the narrow name of "Presbyterian" and join with the Reformed Church under the broader and more historic name of the Reformed Church in America.

G. W. R.

X.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

CHRISTENTUM UND KULTUR. A contribution to Christian ethics by Dr. E. W. Mayer, Professor of Theology in Strassburg University. Berlin, Germany, published by Trowitzsch & Son. Pp. 63. In paper covers. M. 1.40.

The importance of this little "brochure" is by no means to be valued by its size. It is very modest in compass and yet it is to be regarded as an important contribution to the literature of Christian Apologetics. The author, professor of theology in Strassburg University, delivered a course of lectures under the auspices of the Central Committee for Domestic Missions at Berlin which became the nucleus of the present work. The purpose is two-fold. First of all, to meet the objection to Christianity made so frequently, that it is hostile to the development of art and science and those interests generally which may be included under the term civilization; and then, secondly, to define the relation in which Christianity really stands to the development of all those forms of activity which pertain to our secular life, including the idea of morality, and righteousness, or justice among men, as represented by the state. The treatment naturally falls into two divisions. First of all, an introduction in which the problem is stated and the relation between Christianity and the development of culture is considered in its historical aspect. After this historical representation the author proceeds to develop with a great deal of power and with keen insight into the essence of Christianity on the one hand and the significance of secular development on the other, the principles on the basis of which we find not only a reconciliation of the two orders of development, but also a relation between them of such a nature that the former is necessary to the perfection of the latter. In the final chapter the author considers the demands of Christian ethics relative to culture in general and brings his argument to a conclusion by showing that after all, love, which is the essence of Christianity, must enter into all the forms of secular development if these are to have their ultimate value for human well-being.

The word "Kultur" as used by the author has a broader meaning than our English word culture. The author defines it as including all those forms of activity which aim directly or indirectly to make the world subject and serviceable to man. These

activities, therefore, include agriculture, technics, industry, commerce, art, and science, with all their products, and all those forms of human society like the family and the state by which such activity is advanced from age to age. The great question now is, what is the attitude of Christian ethics toward these forms of activity which may be summed up under the head of civilization. The charge has been made time and again, especially by Strauss and Haeckel, that Christianity is hostile to culture; and it must be confessed that there are isolated passages of scripture and multitudes of theological opinions which may be quoted in support of such a charge. The author in his careful and critical examination of the attitude of Christianity finds three different tendencies that have prevailed at different times each of which is more or less defective. First, we have the ascetic tendency; secular development, art, science and civilization are morally without value, and the Christian stands aloof as far as possible from the movement of secular development. Secondly, the mediæval conception; culture has moral value only in so far as it is made directly to subserve the interests or purpose of the Christian church. Thirdly, what the author calls the Lutheran-Protestant view that culture is in and of itself of value, if it is actuated by the right spirit. It has its own problems and service, its own purpose, which contribute to human well-being if properly carried forward. These tendencies, although each has a measure of truth in it, are all more or less defective, and the author proceeds, accordingly, to supplement and strengthen the position of the Protestant church to the effect that the principles of Christianity must of necessity also apply to all those forms of human activity which serve to ameliorate human conditions and minister to human progress and civilization.

Jesus did not lay down any formal ethical rules by which His followers were to be governed in their relation to secular affairs. In fact this relation varies in different ages of the world according to the advancing development of civilization and culture. But He insists first of all upon a disposition or frame of mind which is to control all human relations; and inasmuch as His ethics constitute not a system, but a reigning spirit, He has founded what will apply to all times and places, and will endure forever. As soon, therefore, as Christianity became conscious that it had to prepare, not for the speedy coming of Christ to judge the world, but for an indefinitely long process of secular development continued to remote ages, it was of prime importance that Christians should take part in all those forms of secular activity which alone make possible the intellectual development of man on the one hand, and his moral and religious development on the other. The proper discharge of vocational duties,

it may be said, requires the same form of activity whether a man be a Christian or not. There is a law of right which applies in both cases. But the underlying motive is different. The selfish, egoistic principle may govern in the one case, but for the Christian the underlying motive can only be that of love, the unadulterated desire to promote the welfare of each and all. The author applies this fundamental principle with great power and skill to commerce, trade, and the various forms of human industry, and especially to those spheres of activity which may be either harmful or beneficial, such as art, philosophy and politics. His treatment of the whole subject may be unreservedly recommended for careful study as it cannot fail to throw light on many of the perplexing problems of the present day.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By George Trumbull Ladd, LL.D., formerly Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. Two volumes. Pp. 616 and 590. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.00 per set, net.

Dr. Ladd has for many years held high rank as a psychologist and as a philosopher. He is the author of works in these departments which are well known to all students as thorough and exhaustive in their respective spheres. In addition to these lines of study, Dr. Ladd has also devoted a good deal of attention to theology and his excursions into this field have been productive of fruitful results. It goes without saying, therefore, that when he undertakes to write a treatise on the philosophy of religion, he brings to the task not only ability of a high order, but also special qualifications because of previous familiarity with the subjects which underlie and become manifest in man's religious experience and development, which he proposes to examine in the light of modern science and reflective thinking. The subject is of prime importance, and the two volumes produced by the learned author give evidence both of profound study and discriminating insight. Evidently we have here the crowning work of a busy life on a subject in which the author has a keen, personal interest.

It is, of course, impossible in a brief review of so large a treatise, to give even a summary of the author's line of argument that will be at all intelligible and satisfactory. We must content ourselves with a brief outline of the mode of treatment, and an indication of some of the chief points brought forward by the author in his effort to unify the manifold facts of man's religious experience, and give an intelligent account of the various elements which enter into the faith and practices of religion.

In the first volume the subject is introduced by a discussion

of the problem and method to be pursued, of the difficulties in which the subject is involved, and of the standards of religious values. The author says, "The philosophical method as applied to religion aims (1) to discuss what is permanent and universal; (2) to elucidate and defend what has at least a relative rational certitude; (3) as far as possible to harmonize the conclusions from the religious experiences of man with conclusions derived from his other experiences in a systematic and uniting way."

As the forms of religion are so manifold, differing in belief, mode of worship and in their effect upon conduct, it is exceedingly difficult to find a common basis or starting point from which religious development may be supposed to have developed. Attempts have been made to find what was the religion of primitive man, and to show how all other forms of religion have come from that. All such efforts, the author shows, are futile. There is no primitive man for our scientific study; and there is no form of religion that can be called the primitive form. And yet, there must be in every form of religion an irreducible element that enters into all forms, and that constitutes the kernel of every system of religion that has exercised any influence upon the destiny of man. This element the author characterizes as beginning in the form of a "vague and unreflecting spiritism," and in process of time, however various the forms and systems may be, there emerges a higher development and belief in supernatural powers, more and more personal, until we get the highest form in what we may call Christian Theism. The standard of value by which all religions must be ultimately tested, the author says, is their rationality; and by this test their relative rank must be established.

After discussing the nature of religion the author points out that religion is universal. He asserts that notwithstanding the failure of men like Sir John Lubbock and Professor Tylor to discover any signs of religion among certain races of mankind, recent investigations and careful observations have shown that Cicero was right, that there is absolutely no nation or tribe upon the face of the earth that does not have some form of religious faith and practice. After this, he discusses the origin and differentiation of religions and shows how the development proceeds upon lines which are open to the historian and to the psychologist for scientific study. Religion is a fact of human experience. It is as much a matter of psychology as sensation or perception; but it would be irrational to suppose that an interest so central in human life, and so constant a factor of human experience did not have an objective element on which it rests and which becomes an essential part of it in all its phases.

The subject of religion is man and the author proceeds in the

next place to discuss the nature of man as rational and free and as "made in the divine image." He shows the influence of his physical environment and of science, philosophy and religion in his development. He discusses the relation between morality and religion and comes to the conclusion that the highest form of religion must, in the nature of the case, include "a way of salvation." Christianity is the only form of religion which, in the strict sense of the word, can offer such a boon; and the outcome of religious development through the process of salvation is the establishment of the religious community, the Christian church, the Kingdom of Heaven.

In the second volume, the author considers God as the object of religious faith, the relation of God to the world and the destiny of man. Perhaps the most elaborate and painstaking discussions here are, the one on the problem of evil in connection with the attributes of God, and on personal immortality in connection with the inquiry into the future of the race. The result of the whole discussion is a vindication of the rationality of our Christian faith.

This brief outline may suffice to show the richness and importance of the work under review. Dr. Ladd says religion is the "great psychic uplift of the race." If so, it is of the utmost importance that it should be studied critically and philosophically in order that its true value may appear in the light of modern science; and we may safely recommend all earnest students to master this profound work on the subject.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE MESSAGES OF THE APOCALYPTICAL WRITERS. The Books of Daniel and Revelation and some Uncanonical Apocalypses with Historical Introductions and a free Rendering in Paraphrase. By Frank C. Porter, Ph.D., D.D., Winkley Professor of Biblical Theology in Yale University. New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1905. Pages xxii + 367. Price $1.25 net.

This volume belongs to the series of biblical commentaries or hand-books, entitled, "The Messages of the Bible." A number of volumes on the Old and New Testament books have appeared and others are in course of preparation. The purpose of the series is to popularize for the preacher and teacher the latest results of exegetical and historical scholarship. "Technicalities and unsettled questions will be, as far as possible, ignored. Each volume will be prepared by a leading specialist and will contain such brief introductions as serve to put the reader into intelligent relation to the general theme treated." We doubt whether this work has received the recognition which it deserves and we would cordially commend it to the reader as one of the most illuminating

aids for Bible study that has been published for a decade or more.

Undoubtedly one of the most difficult portions of the Scriptures is the apocalyptic writing. It is found in the canonical and uncanonical scriptures. Daniel and the Book of Revelation belong to the former; the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Secrets of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Ezra, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Apocalypse of Enoch, to the latter. Each of the books is expounded in order. No American scholar is better prepared for this difficult task than Dr. Frank Porter. He is a specialist in Biblical Theology and in pre-Christian Jewish literature. Both his thorough scholarship and his literary art are in evidence in this product of his pen.

Hitherto the apocalypses, instead of being revelations, have been considered as veils of the truth. They have been the playground for enthusiasts, fanatics, and mystics. The sober saints have confessed their inability to understand the mysterious imagery and the strange symbols. The historical method, however, enables the commentator to bring order out of confusion and light out of darkness. The seals of the books are broken and their treasures brought to light. In the preface the author says: "To the historical student these apocalypses have become, in their general character and chief message, among the best instead of quite the least understood books of the canon. And their importance has grown with their understanding. Out of the background to which they were relegated they have suddenly been pushed far forward, too far it may be, into the front rank of historical documents. . . . It is chiefly from the apocalypses, canonical and uncanonical, that we are to gain an understanding of the Jewish religion of the time of Christ. It is from these books that we are to get a true conception of the faiths and hopes, the motives and emotions of primitive Christianity. They are to serve as one of our chief helps to an understanding of the Pauline Christology, and even as our principal way of approach to that central and supreme problem of historian and theologian alike, the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus himself." The student cannot well afford to remain ignorant of these writings as now interpreted for they enter into the discussion of most of the problems of the New Testament period. He may not have the necessary preparation for an original study of the apocalypses, but he will find in this volume all that he needs for an appreciation of their contents and their import.

The introduction, covering sixty-four pages, is a concise and elucidating treatment of the questions relating to these writings in general. The topics discussed are: The Apocalyptical Books; their Number and Scope; Their Historical Place and Significance;

The Relation of Apocalyse to Prophecy; Pseudonymous Authorship; The Apocalyptical Vision; The Literary Composition of Apocalypses; Their Messages for their Own Times; Their Messages for Our Time. There is a separate introduction for each book in which the characteristics of the time of composition, the date of authorship, and the history of the book are treated in detail.

The text is not explained verse by verse in the way of exegetical commentaries, nor is it an homiletic exposition. For example the first six chapters of Daniel are treated under the general topic: The Rewards of Fidelity to the Law and of Faith in God. The subordinate topics are: (1) Loyalty to the Ceremonial Law, (2) Dream of Four World Kingdoms and the Kingdom of God, (3) Faith Tried by Fire, (4) The Proud King's Humiliation, (5) God's Judgment Upon a Sacrilegious King, God's Protection of one who Would not Worship a King. These subjects are interpreted in the light of the times when the book was written, which in the case of Daniel the author thinks was in the Maccabean age before 165 B. C. The story of the choice of Jewish youths, by Nebuchadnezzar, for training as "Chaldeans," which occurred about 605 B. C., was used in the age of Antioch Epiphanes to teach certain religious and moral truths. Antiochus demanded the violation of the Jewish laws regarding food, which was equivalent to apostasy from Jewish faith. Such a demand opened the way for the adaptation of an ancient story to the needs of the hour. Through it a message was conveyed to the Jews of the second century before Christ, and secondarily to mankind at large when confronted by circumstances which are the same in principle though different in form. The author seeks to find the original message of the books and then to interpret them for our age. The philological, exegetical, and historical scholarship is kept in the background, yet it shines out of every page on which, however, we have a presentation of principles and concrete applications. This method is followed in the treatment of each book.

Rarely have we read a book so satisfactory as this. It is fresh, interesting, and suggestive from beginning to end. It will enlarge the vision of the preacher. It will simplify mysterious passages in the Bible. It will render practical and useful a portion of literature which has been largely neglected or abused. It brings out the naturalness and reasonableness of the visions and dreams of a people with whom by virtue of our widely different environment we have lost sympathetic touch.

George W. Richards.

LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BIBLE. Edited by James Moffat, D.D. I., The Book of Ecclesiastes. II., The Gospel According to Saint Mark. Pages 101 and 104. New York, 3 and 5 W. 18th St., A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The purpose of these neat little books is defined by the editor in the preface. "The materials for these volumes are of two kinds. On the one hand, I have set down passages of verse and prose in which some text of this book of the Bible has been used or applied in what appears to be a forcible or notable manner. Some of these are drawn from history and biography, others from literature. In the second place, I have admitted passages which devolop aptly and freshly not the words but the ideas of a Biblical verse. . . . Sometimes the materials printed here will serve as lighted candles placed beside the text of Scripture, while in other cases I trust it is not too presumptuous to expect that the juxtaposition of text and quotation may help to set in motion the minds of those who have to use the Bible constantly in the work of preaching or teaching throughout the Christian churches."

To illustrate the method in detail we select a verse from Mark's gospel at random. "He departed into a desert place, and there prayed" (1: 35). The text is printed in red type. A quotation from Emerson and another from George Meredith, throwing light on the text, follow. In this way leading verses are selected from each chapter and notable passages from classic prose and poetry, one, two, or three at a time, follow in order for suggestion and illustration. The selections are well chosen and often set the reader thinking along new lines. Books of this class have their value for those who know how to use them. There are minds which are especially open to suggestions and capable of developing an idea when it is once called forth. It is remarkable, also, to observe how the juxtaposition of Scripture passages and selections from great writers will throw new light upon the former and enable us to see phases of truth which were concealed before. For those who are looking for a work of this description, these books are all that can be desired.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

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I.

DR. RAUCH AS MAN AND PHILOSOPHER.*

BY R. C. SCHIEDT, PH.D.

Centennial celebrations are no longer a rarity among us; they indicate not only our growth in years but also, and especially, our increase in grateful appreciation of the work of the early pioneers on whose sturdy shoulders we stand. Such occasions are, furthermore, not confined to the land of "May Flower" fame. Not only the classic soil of New England has its "Sleepy Hollows" where the sons and daughters of the Republic gather for memorial service; even in localities of much less pretentious claims we now point with melancholy pride to many a sacred spot where some of the nation's mighty sons were lovingly laid to rest. Lancaster, old historic Lancaster, has more than one such "Sleepy Hollow," unknown to, and unnoticed by the average passerby who only lives in the present and for the future. It is with more than mere sentimental interest that I take you to-night, in spirit at least, to the small college plot in the Lancaster Cemetery, to the unpretentious marble column, which surmounts the resting place of the mortal remains of one of the infant Republic's most

* Oration delivered at the centennial celebration of Rauch's birthday.

brilliant minds, the founder and first president of Marshall College, *the Rev. Dr. Frederick Augustus Rauch.* Although never an actual citizen of Lancaster, his relation to Franklin and Marshall College has made him an ever-living force in the intellectual and spiritual life of our community, and the centennial of his birth, which we celebrate to-night, is therefore not only a College affair but an occasion of historic importance for the whole town.

His life and work were a gift of those Hessian lands of Germany whose rulers had committed the most atrocious crimes directly against their own subjects by coercing them into English military service and indirectly against the American colonies, against whom England hurled the Hessians during the war of the Revolution. This magnificent gift fully atoned for the sins ignorantly committed by England's German soldiers.

His birth which occurred on the twenty-seventh of July, 1806, in Kirchbracht, Hesse, fell in the tumultuous times of Germany's deepest humiliation. As the son of a Reformed pastor in one of the least prosperous regions of the Fatherland he very early became acquainted with the hardships of poverty and the heroism of self-sacrifice. The year of his birth witnessed the disastrous battle of Jena, when Napoleon's soldiers swept over Europe with irresistible force, creating consternation everywhere and paralyzing all trade and traffic throughout the continent. Rauch's childhood covered those distressing years during which the German states seemed to have lost their identity, and national consciousness had received its death-blow. But the young boy also witnessed the great national resurrection, the creation of a new citizenship, the abolishment of serfdom, of many caste privileges and prerogatives. He had felt the thrill of enthusiasm that passed over his country with cyclonic force, when the youths of town and village banded together to annihilate the common arch enemy and to rehabilitate the fair name of the fatherland. Those

were the days that paralleled the great revolutionary epoch of the American colonies which ended in the establishment of a new Republic. Fichte's address to the German nation had fired the young men and women with a new and more fervent patriotism. Arndt's poetic appeal to his people to return to the faith of the fathers had aroused an intense religious ardor that filled the most earnest with a holy wrath for all that was low and mean, and stirred in them the noblest ideals and highest resolves for heroic sacrifice, for God, for home and for country. If environment counts for anything, surely here were conditions most favorable for the growth of the finest type of manhood. Young Rauch was but nine years old—it was the year of the Corsican's final catastrophe at Waterloo—when he started on his own responsibility upon his college course at the gymnasium of Hanau. It is a curious coincident that Germany's deepest political humiliation occurred during the golden age of her poetry, philosophy and philology. They made the chief impress upon her schools and universities. Just as in modern times the curriculum of our colleges and universities preponderates on the side of the natural sciences, and the majority of our young men specialize along the line of technical pursuits, so were at the beginning of the nineteenth century the classic languages, especially Greek, the chief means of a liberal culture. In Germany Lessing, Goethe and Schiller had aroused unbounded enthusiasm for Greek art and learning, the dry bones of the old formalistic philological instruction had been revived by the inbreathing of a new soul, and the new philology had become the science par excellence. The keenest thinkers of the age worshipped at her shrine. Young Rauch was attracted to it from the very start. He had caught the spirit of the master mind Wilhelm von Humboldt, the profoundly critical mediator between the linguistic and the poetic arts, the founder of the modern German gymnasium and of the University of Berlin. We can hardly appreciate to-day what Homer and Æschylos, what Greece

was to those men—the highest ideal of æsthetic culture realized in a perfect and beautiful humanity. It meant something for the training of a brilliant mind, such as young Rauch's, to be brought under the influence of the nascent enthusiasm for new national ideals in learning and for Pestalozzi's ideas in method. Hardly eighteen years old, he passed the very difficult entrance examination into the university with marked distinction. His early publications indicated how thoroughly he had entered into the spirit of his masters. From the pen of the youth came "A Latin Treatise on the Electra of Sophocles"; "The Identity of the Hindoos, Persians, Germans and Slavs, as Indicated by their Language, Religion and Manners"; "A Critique of Goethe's Faust," pronounced by Goethe himself in his "Conversations with Eckermann" as "one of the best"; "A Book on the Literature of the Indians and Persians"; etc. It meant a great deal more for the young college to be started in the new world to have an exponent of the ripest and finest thought of the old world for its founder. How thoroughly he revolutionized the old methods of teaching the classics in the United States is most graphically described by Dr. Theodore Appel, the only one of his pupils still with us, in his "College Recollections."

But those early years in the gymnasium were not only spent by Rauch in philological mining operations. Something else had entered the classic centers of learning since thousands of young students had shed their blood for a rejuvenated fatherland, and thousands had returned with higher ideals and maturer purposes—it was the conviction that a true educational institution must be deeply rooted in the regenerative power of the highest moral ideals. On the fiield of battle they had learned that great leaders are absolutely essential and that all true education begins in obedience. There they had suddenly begun to understand Tacitus and to comprehend the "categorical imperative" of Kant—a free and united Germany became the watchword of all youthful enthusiasm

and the right of public opinion a new factor in national life. Fichte had started the new movement through his addresses. Heinrich von Kleist embodied it in his characters on the stage and Schleiermacher preached it from the pulpit. The universities of Jena and Giessen had become the centers of the new agitation, the others rallied around them. When Rauch entered the University of Marburg in 1824 his mind was matured far beyond that of the ordinary youth of eighteen, his soul was stirred to its depths by the serious problems of the times. At Marburg, Giessen and Heidelberg he devoted himself with great zeal to the study of theology and philology, including philosophy, so that, at the age of twenty-one, in 1827 he took his doctor's degree "summa cum laude" at Marburg, became a "privat docent" or lecturer at Giessen in 1828 and professor extraordinary in the same university in 1830. In 1831 he was called to Heidelberg as professor ordinarius in philosophy, receiving the highest professional honor bestowed by German universities at the early age of twenty-five, thus completing a record which has only once been repeated by the erratic genius, Friedrich Nietzsche. Before, however, Rauch could enter upon his work in Heidelberg he became involved in the great political upheaval of the times. The popular movement for a united Germany was threatened with failure, because it lacked proper leadership, and the princes seemed to have forgotten the promises made to the people; the government became suspicious of any and every enthusiastic demonstration of a political or semi-political nature and began to persecute particularly the members of the patriotic student associations called the "Burschenschaften" because they still dared to dream of a united fatherland. The University of Giessen was particularly in disfavor on account of the predominance of the Burschenschaft element, and a man had been appointed as its chancellor who was known as the all-powerful arch reactionary, Baron Franz Joseph von Ahrens. He had sent pastor Weidig and other young noble

patriots to prison because they still advocated what were looked upon as treasonable issues. Dr. Rauch publicly declared himself in behalf of the imprisoned men, true to the ideals of his youth, and was at once threatened with arrest. The situation had grown very serious, for imprisonment for political treason then meant life imprisonment or even death. On the advice of his friends and his father he fled to America. Like Karl Schurz of later years, Rauch sacrificed for the sake of his convictions a noble career, a brilliant future, the happiness of his nearest and dearest relatives and friends. Such is the stuff of which heroes are made, to whom personal considerations are a very secondary matter, when great principles of righteousness are at stake. This very incident gives us the key to Rauch's character as a man. It explains the high tone of his teachings and philosophical system. It was undoubtedly a great calamity from one point of view but also a magnificent exhibition of the highest capabilities of true manhood which could not help but carry with it great blessings. It was a calamity to take ruthlessly a man out of an environment of which he had become such an integral part, that they seemed mutually indispensable; he seemed to be in direct line of succession to that galaxy of men, among whom Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Schleiermacher were the great luminaries. Philosophy and theology had apparently lost one of their champions by right, Germany one of her most promising sons. While a student in Heidelberg Rauch had come under the special influence of the distinguished philosopher and theologian Charles Daub, the author of a work called "Modern Dogmatic Theology" from Schelling's standpoint. He was one of the few theologians at that time advocating a more positive religious faith and life. With him young Rauch was to work, shoulder to shoulder, on the religious structure of the new Germany, for his theological publications issued during his sojourn at Giessen had given high promise as to his positive stand and profound grasp of the new christocentric principles

superseding the long rule of rationalism and pantheism. But all these hopes were now shattered, when he turned his face to the New World. Before him lay the great ocean and an unknown land, where he had neither friend nor name. In the fall of 1831 Rauch arrived in America. Accidentally he drifted to Easton, Pa., earning a livelihood by giving lessons on the piano, of which he was a master. In a marvellously short time, however, he mastered the new and strange environment, its language and its customs. The brilliancy of his attainments did not remain hidden very long. In quick succession he became professor of the German language and literature at Lafayette College and in 1832 head master of a classical school in York, Pa., which was, in connection with the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, under the care of Dr. Mayer. His youthful vigor and enthusiasm brought new life to the whole institution. After having been ordained to the office of the holy ministry in the same year he not only taught most of the branches in the preparatory school, but was at the same time professor of Biblical literature in the Theological Seminary. In the year 1833 he married a daughter of Mr. Loammi Moore, of Morristown, N. J., which step gave the assurance that he would become a permanent citizen of the United States. With restless energy he threw himself into the current of his new life. Chiefly through his instrumentality the Classical High School was removed from York to Mercersburg and there elevated into Marshall College in 1836. Dr. Rauch became thus the virtual founder of old Marshall College. Though poor in endowments and insignificant in the number of its students and members of its faculty the young president, like Mark Hopkins at Williams College, made it a dominant force in the educational and intellectual life of the nation. Here originated under Rauch's leadership and initiative what in the course of years came to be known as *Mercersburg philosophy and theology.*

To appreciate fully what that meant we have to know something of the educational policy prevalent in this country during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. When Marshall College opened with 14 students in 1836 Harvard College had just celebrated its 200th anniversary, the number of students enrolled was 233, and the faculty consisted of hardly a dozen instructors. In Yale and Princeton the numbers were still less and the income from their endowments amounted only to a few thousand dollars. In 1825 Union College of New York had passed Harvard and Yale in the number of its students and for a quarter of a century it held the honor of being the largest college in the United States. This was due to the influence of its great president Dr. Nott, who for sixty-two years stood at the head of that institution and attracted students from all parts of the country. Union College was also the first one which modified the classical course and inaugurated the so-called optional system allowing the substitution of modern languages and an increased amount of mathematical and physical sciences in place of Greek and Latin. But what was needed especially in those days was not so much expansion as impact, not so much enumeration of branches as enumeration of pedagogic principles. The psychology and political philosophy of John Locke had become quite naturally the ruling factors in our educational system, they breathed the spirit of the English revolution of 1688; they fostered the secular ideas of the great French revolution and Franklin and Jefferson had planned systems of education quite after the French pattern. What they lacked was a unifying principle. John Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" was the chief metaphysical text-book in all the American colleges of that time. It was to furnish the survey and guide in all matters moral and intellectual. The two main characteristics of his system are: (1) his craving to know and to speak the truth and the whole truth in everything, truth not for a purpose but for itself; (2) his perfect

trust in the reason as the guide, the only guide, to truth. As a matter of common experience, however, we know that human reason is liable to incalculable variations and likely enough to shipwreck those who steer by it alone. He, therefore, on the one hand exaggerates the importance of one function of the mind and unduly diminishes the importance of the rest. In his scheme of education little thought is taken for the play of the affections and feelings and as for the imagination, it is treated merely as a source of mischief. Moreover, if true knowledge which Locke calls "the internal perception of the mind" can only be acquired by the exercise of reason then childhood must be excluded from the pursuit of knowledge and the only thing to be taught is the formation of habit. Locke was clearly an empiricist and the results of his system were only too apparent in the social and political status of the young Republic. Rauch, trained in the schools of Kant and Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, naturally found himself at variance with the fundamental teachings of the American college. However, he was open-minded enough to appreciate the strong points of the empirical system and went at once vigorously to work to write out his own system of thought best adapted to existing conditions. Although not yet thirty years of age, the number of his publications and their influence had become quite considerable, so that writing was to him a most agreeable occupation, and his articles in the leading journals of the day were widely read. He became the first important bridge-builder between the German and American thought-worlds. Dr. Nevin says of him in his "Eulogy": "He found himself impelled to attempt the work of transferring, to some extent at least, into the literature of this country . . . the life and power of German thinking generally, under its more recent forms in all that relates to the phenomenology of the soul. For this task he was eminently qualified—beyond all other scholars probably belonging to our land. He was at home in the philosophy of Great Britain as well as in that of Germany

and knew accurately the points of contact and divergency by which the relations of the two systems of thought to one another, generally considered, are characterized. . . . Not only was Dr. Rauch familiar with American life and thought, but he had come to identify himself completely with us as a people."

His first great book, and unfortunately the only complete one published by him in the country of his adoption, appeared in 1840 under the title "Psychology; or a View of the Human Soul; including Anthropology," New York, M. A. Dodd, publisher. It was the first work published on psychology in this country and made at once a profound impression, heralded by A. O. Brownson, its chief reviewer, as "a book of genius." The first edition was exhausted in six weeks, finding at once entrance into the best colleges as a text-book, and continuing to be used as such for well-nigh forty years. Reading it today in the light of modern discoveries and evolutionary methods one is struck by its lucid style, usually not found in such books, the wealth of illustrations and the great familiarity of the author with so many facts in natural history. Though Herbert Spencer might question the distinction which Rauch makes in his elaborate Introduction between sensation, perception and apperception as belonging to the vegetable, animal and human types respectively, or severely ridicule his division of mental philosophy into anthropology and psychology proper, since he denies the self-existence of mind, it is a question with me whether after all men like James, Baldwin and Münsterberg or even Wundt do not agree with the essentials of Rauch's system. One thing was sure at the outset, viz., that the new psychology of the president of young Marshall College completely superseded in educational value Locke's empiricism as set forth in his "Essay on the Human Understanding." According to the latter *reason* is the *only* organ of knowing and as such it is imperfect and limited. Knowledge must, therefore, be likewise imperfect and limited. According to

the former the organ of knowing is the whole man; with Schelling he believes in the oneness of life, guided by the spirit, as manifested by its gradual unfolding through a *succession* of faculties; "near the root are the senses; these are followed by attention and conception; higher than these are fancy, imagination and memory, which may be considered as the blossoms on the tree of knowledge; while pure thinking under the form of understanding, judgment, reason and will are the ripe fruits." This is what Dr. Nevin calls the author's "Psychological Tree" by which he is governed in treating afterwards of the life of the mind in detail. He discusses the faculties of the soul under the two heads of Reason and Will, each consisting of higher and lower forms of activity, closely interwoven, and manifesting themselves as one and indissoluble. In order to know we must constantly will to know, and this will is according to Rauch either *natural* (or psychic), and as such determined by the feelings, passions or appetites of the soul, or *moral,* and as such spiritual and free with power to rule over man's lower nature. Such "liberty is a free activity, one that is not arbitrariness, but includes necessity." Psychology treated from this standpoint was something refreshingly new in this country, quite different from John Locke's empiricism, which taught that the first and only impulse to all psychic activities is derived from the functions of sensibility, thus making the will purely natural and exposing the training of character to the pitfalls of a melancholy determinism. What a tremendous effect it had upon educational methods became soon apparent. With Herbart, the great pedagogue and Rauch's cotemporary, psychology was merely the mechanics of mental processes, instruction nothing but the organized ladling out of concepts and ideas to the pupil, education nothing more than instruction. With Rauch instruction meant the awakening of intellectual self-activity, the bringing out of the individual's characteristics and education the training of will and heart. And this is in theory at least

precisely what modern pedagogics proclaim as the latest psychology, the experimental physiological psychology of Spencer, Wundt and others. If Rauch had taught at Harvard his name would at once have been proclaimed from the housetops of our educational workshops throughout the length and breadth of the land. "Had he lived," says Dr. Nevin, "a few years longer, he would have lifted even the village of Mercersburg into the view of the whole land." As it was, Mercersburg philosophy on the theoretical side found its way gradually but surely into the systems of the day, notably into that of Dr. McCosh, of Princeton; on the practical side it became the standard of judgment of the best men who went forth from the halls of Marshall College and later from those of Franklin and Marshall, so that it could be said that the alumni of those institutions could be recognized by the method of reasoning which governed their public and printed utterances. To-day the words of Dr. Rauch, uttered seventy years ago in his inaugural address, have become the common good of all the great educators of the land: "The fortune of our lives and our government depends not exclusively on useful knowledge but on our character as citizens, and to form this character by cultivating the whole man is the aim of education in the proper sense."

But the publication of his Psychology was only the beginning of a trilogy of works, the second one of which was to be on "Christian Ethics" and the third on "Æsthetics." They were finished in full outline, when his untimely end came in 1841. The same lofty idealism dominant in his first volume is fundamental in his subsequent works. In his æsthetics he superseded Schlegel in his ethics and Kant and Fichte. Schlegel, the romanticist par excellence, had lost himself in the sentimental mysticism of the Middle Ages, when the outward in art attracted supreme attention, leading to a prostitution of heathen art in the production of statues and paintings of the saints. Rauch emphasized the necessity of a sci-

ence of art, a philosophy of the beautiful to keep it within the proper sphere of truth which does not pay religious homage to outward forms; all that which was incongruous, bizarre and undisciplined, therefore, in Romantic æstheticism was unmercifully condemned in the new æsthetics. In the sphere of ethics Rauch encountered Kant's "categorical imperative" and Fichte's supreme "Ego," both of whom identified freedom of the will with self-determination. He defined the freedom of the human will as harmony with the divine will, which is more than a formal mechanical obedience to the "thou shalt" of the decalogue, inasmuch as it rises above the motive of fear of punishment and leads to a truly moral life which is governed by the dictates of love. Rauch's Ethics, therefore, became preëminently Christian Ethics, however not from a theological but from a Christian point of view. It was the only respectable system of thought which gave positive hopes and practical ideals to an age of general confusion.

What a pity that such works had to remain unfinished torsos. But unceasing labor had overtaxed the delicate bodily frame of the author. Though firm and robust in his convictions, he was as gentle as a child in his manner, and as gentle as his walk among men had been so was also his passing away. In the early hours of the second of March, 1861, his noble soul took its flight to its eternal home.

Every nation needs at the outset above all else great thinkers, who mark out the course of its history, but to pay full tribute to such men is a difficult matter. The splendid discoveries in the realm of nature can be more definitely and accurately formulated than the achievements of a purely philosophical mind. For the very thoughts through which philosophers establish their own worth for human society manifest themselves, after being divested of their scholastic terminology, as indeed beautiful but well-known ideas which touch our hearts and mould our lives the more effectively the more they are blood of our blood and mind of our mind. Their chief

value lies in their power to stir our deepest emotions and to touch our personality on all the shores of its being.

For with Rauch the contents of pure thinking are not mere abstractions, but realities the very soul and life of individual things, and as such exist not merely in our thoughts but equally as much in nature. In this he stands out preëminently distinct from the prevailing college thought of America as well as from the ruling Hegelianism of Germany. With him "nature is a system, not a conglomeration, alive and active in all its elements and atoms; it is filled with powers, from the mechanical, chemical, magnetic and galvanic up to the organic, all of which flow invisibly into each other, affect and determine each other. Eternal laws dwell in them, and provided that, while these powers receive and work with and through each other, none interferes with the other or in any degree changes its nature, but supports and upholds it. Thus we have a constant life; powers flow up and down, to and fro." All this demonstrates a mental interaction between the bodily and the mental life; life as such is distinguished from the non-living by organization which does not proceed from matter but is the result of thought, "a thought of God accompanied by the divine will, to be realized in nature, and to appear externally in an organized body." Rauch thus superseded also Hegel with whom nature was merely an incident. He possessed not only a thorough empirical knowledge of the great discoveries which at his time had ushered in the new era of scientific research, but also a keen insight into the laws which enabled him to subject the empirical to philosophical deductions. It is certainly significant that the first president of Marshall College should in this wise have anticipated the mode of thought which characterizes the most positive philosophical teachings of modern times, notably those of Paulsen and James.

Says St. Bernard: "There are those who desire to know for the sole purpose of knowing, and it is idle curiosity; there are

those who desire to know in order to be known, and it is base ambition; there are those who desire to know in order to accumulate honors and wealth, and it is base avarice, and there are those who desire to know in order to be edified, and it is prudence, but there are those who desire to know that they may edify others, and it is charity." Rauch's life was one great desire to edify others. His lofty idealism, his profound sense of justice and righteousness, his gentleness of manner and his childlike faith in the eternal verities of our holy religion have wrought most powerfully in the lives of the sons of old Marshall College and have left us a heritage which by right of intrinsic value places Franklin and Marshall College in the forefront of the pioneer forces of the American commonwealth and confers upon the church and the community in which it lives and moves and has its being their most permanent values.

LANCASTER, PA.

II.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION AS IT CONFRONTED OLD MARSHALL.*

BY LINN HARBAUGH, ESQ.

In the midst of the rush and activities of this present life, it is fortunate indeed that one may now and then retreat to these quiet college halls. It were better still could we come bearing with us something thoughtful and original with which to greet our erstwhile student friends, and through which we might hope to do honor to the intellectual spirit and life which have pervaded these institutions for more than three score and ten years.

It is discouraging, therefore, at this moment to find oneself drifting back to an old idea that has been so learnedly dwelt upon time and again in this presence. I refer to that theory of historical study which has for its basis the language and literature of a people; the *lingua-centric* idea, as the man with the rough coining machine might define it.

This phase of history has been so well interpreted in past generations, and in broader fields than ours, that one is liable to be brought up upon the charge, in company with the poet's katydid, that:

> "Thou say'st an undisputed thing
> In such a solemn way."

To consider, then, the various epochs of our institutional life from this standpoint, by simply compiling the great store of outward facts or data already gathered by competent historians, would be a labor wholly uncalled for and of little credit to any one attempting it. But to treat briefly of one

* The Alumni Oration delivered in the Chapel of Franklin and Marshall College on Wednesday evening, June 13, 1906.

phase of our literary and theological growth, with some regard to the sequence and philosophy of history, is the more difficult task which the present speaker has set for himself; and this, too, without much confidence of a successful outcome, "since," to use the words of the great Chancellor Blackstone, "he freely confesses that his former more private attempts have fallen very short of his own ideas of perfection."

There is one saying, or seed thought, it may be called, which found original utterance in our own school of theology; and, in a peculiar sense, I lay claim to the right of its possession for the purposes of this hour: "As the eye that sees cannot see itself, so any great movement, in any given age, can never directly and fully understand itself, or measure the meaning of the activities and tendencies which strive and struggle in its own bosom."

In view of the rich heritage which has come down to us through the earnest lives of former generations, it is our plain duty to be looking backward, lest we forget. They blazed the way, though at times they could not see very far ahead. They did not always fully measure the meaning of the activities and tendencies of their own age, but they sought for and found the light and the truth with persistence and power unsurpassed in the present age.

Our forefathers of the German Reformed communion in this country were ministered unto by men of learning. While it is true that for many years the pioneer Germans were deprived of spiritual instruction and consolation because of the scarcity of regularly ordained pastors, they nevertheless cherished their pious faith as a blessed heritage from the fatherland, and have handed it down from generation to generation of their people; and this too, in face of the fact that men were at hand in that day, as they are in this, with motives purely mercenary, who played upon the religious credulity of these people, "and practised gross deceptions in the name of the church."

In view of the high standard of education maintained by the early missionaries to this country, it is not surprising to find Germans in America looking forward anxiously to the time when they might have their own school of the prophets.

Our church, at the time Marshall College was established, was torn by dissensions and diversity of opinion upon almost every question that could be raised; and the new school in its humble beginnings had many sore trials. But, as we all know, there were stout hearts and willing hands to work for its success, and the movement was not without encouragement from abroad.

The terms "college" and "seminary" for the present purpose, are somewhat interchangeable. The courses of study were sometimes interwoven by students whose time and means were limited. With little endowment for college or seminary, and with the question of language still unsolved, or in the unconscious process of solution, it could not be expected that the faculty of either department of learning would be maintained with its full complement of instructors.

Some of the questions which arose in the formative period of our Reformed Church in the United States were purely academic, and concerned and challenged the intellectual giants of the day. Other problems, such as the observance of the festivals of the church year, catechetical instruction and liturgical service, aroused the laity as well as the clergy.

But there was one question which went to the very heart and life of the people themselves—the question of language—and in this, it seems to me, the hand of God is discernible in a way as mysterious as it is positive and sure.

To avoid burdening the hour with facts that are familiar to all of us, I shall adopt a paragraph from "The Life of Philip Schaff":

"The proper and final relation of the German element to American institutions and modes of thought has been for a century one of the most difficult and troublesome questions

the Lutheran and German Reformed churches have had to deal with. They have had the double problem to settle—to satisfy the first and second generations of their adherents who used the German tongue exclusively or chiefly, and to retain their hold on the succeeding generations in whom the American element has come to be predominant. A constant struggle has been going on in families of German antecedents. The parents seek to perpetuate the use of the German language and customs among their children. The children feel a strong impulse to break away, and, if the use of the German is persisted in at public worship, wander off into the Anglo-American churches."

But the question of course involved more than the religious and home life of the people themselves.

How were the riches of German literature and philosophy to be preserved to a people who had abandoned their own language?

How, on the other hand, were the German thought, life and language to be maintained in their purity and power by a people who had made as the home of their adoption a country destined to become a nation of one spirit and one speech?

This may perhaps suggest to you a theme, as it has already in my mind provoked the question:

Whence the guiding hand, or what were the inner impulses that moved a foreign German teacher and theologian, with one assistant and a few German-American students to make a peaceful invasion of a Scotch-Irish settlement in the Cumberland Valley seventy years ago?

As we look back upon it, the movement was fraught with the greatest importance. Viewed from a human standpoint it was made under the direction and guidance of able and pious men.

And yet, no man then living grasped the true significance of that event, and it was as astounding and unaccountable as was the election three years later of a Scotchman as the theo-

logical and literary head and guide of a church whose synod only fourteen years before had rebuked a young minister for attempting to make an address in the English language!

Let us review briefly some of the conditions which existed, and the movements of men, in the early years of Marshall College. Let us observe how much at cross-purposes these movements and conditions were, and yet how they came together, how they conspired to work out a great problem.

The little mountain village of Mercersburg was, like other settlements of the Cumberland Valley, of purely Scotch-Irish origin. For many years prior to the establishment of Marshall College this settlement had been the theater of great commercial activity. It was the scene of quiet social life and religious devotion. With the dawn of the nineteenth century families began to appear who are still largely represented by their descendants in the community. The town itself had taken on the appearance of a dignified and substantial place of abode. The streets were improved; brick dwellings, some of them rather imposing in design, appeared to take the places of the log houses of pre-revolutionary times. Men had been coming to the front with character and influence which soon extended to the state legislative halls, to the executive mansion, to the national Congress and to the White House. They were one and all Scotch-Irishmen, as that term has come to be understood in these days.

Such indeed was the character of this Conococheague settlement in temper and nationality for one hundred years until the German students' invasion of 1835.

"The two teachers who came on with the students," says Dr. Theodore Appel, "were Dr. Rauch and his faithful Achates, Professor Budd. They were both scholarly-looking men—young as yet, but with lines of thought and study already on their faces—both looking out upon the world through gold-rimmed spectacles."

In the old stone school house at the rear of the Presbyterian

Church, a temporary hall of learning was found. But the building committee was already at work providing better accommodations, and on August 17, 1836, the cornerstone of the large building on the hill was laid.

Thus it was that two teachers with eighteen young men, followed a little later by others, peacefully invaded the mountain village with their high-school belongings to found a college. Here began the influence of German life and thought in a Scotch-Irish settlement. Here began the unfolding of a divine purpose—a movement, considered from human limitations, that did not understand itself directly and fully—a movement which was destined to aid vastly in reconciling German-American life and education with true American citizenship.

What was the attitude of the workers?

Dr. Rauch was a master mind in German learning. But up until his lamented death he had great difficulty with the English language, and was extremely sensitive on the subject. "His thoughts," it is said, "were like so many caged birds, which he wished to let out, but the crowd was too great to get out in good order."

In the brief time allotted him, like many Germans of university education, he aimed to produce a system of philosophy. The result of his studies appears in a number of works on abstruse subjects—notably his "Psychology" and "Christian Ethics," which attracted the attention of eminent scholars in Europe and America. His lectures, as we know, are the basis of much of the learning now in use.

Although a representative of the people who were at that very time guarding their German language most jealously, Dr. Rauch exclaimed only a short time before his death: "Now, with Dr. Nevin by my side, I can breathe freely for the first time in America!"

Dr. Nevin himself, in a preliminary interview on the subject of accepting the professorship, gave as a reason for hesi-

tating, that, "Not being a native of the German church, he was afraid he would not be able to secure its confidence to such an extent as would be necessary to secure his personal comfort and success in the position in which it was proposed to place him." In accepting the call he said: "The call has been strange and unexpected; not only without my seeking, but *against* my own judgment and wish explicitly expressed and understood."

And further he observes: "My own training might appear to be providentially ordered by Him who leadeth the *blind in a way not understood* by themselves, with special reference to this very destination."

With reference to the synod which convened at Chambersburg, Pa., on January 29, 1840, and elected Dr. Nevin as professor of systematic theology, our distinguished historian, Dr. Dubbs, makes this pertinent observation:

"All the members of that synod have long since passed away, but in former years the present writer was well acquainted with many of them; and no one could furnish an adequate explanation of the reasons which influenced the mind of the synod in extending that remarkable call. . . . it was known that he (Nevin) had devoted some attention to the study of German theology, and this fact was greatly in his favor." The historian recites some additional facts, but concludes, "All this, however, does not adequately account for the fact that he was unanimously chosen."

How little does it all seem to accord with the action of synod only three years later in extending a call to the great preacher and theologian of Prussia, Dr. Frederick W. Krummacher?

Had Dr. Krummacher come, and indeed he seriously considered the call, he would have summoned all his great spirit and intellect and voice into one grand effort to preserve the language and to restore the German national life in America.

The selection of Philip Schaff, a young and enthusiastic

missionary, instead of Dr. Krummacher, seemed to be providential indeed at this critical time.

Hearken unto the voice of the great preacher, Krummacher, as he delivered the charge to Dr. Schaff at Elberfeld:

"You are to go forth," he said, "as the bearer of a pure German national spirit, to assist in restoring to new life a German population whose national character is already half destroyed by the admixture of foreign elements, to rescue it to the consciousness of its original dignity and proper independent existence. You are called to transport German theology in its thoroughness and depth and its strong free life together with the various branches of learning that stand related to it as a family of full-grown daughters."

Ten years later, when Dr. Schaff was in Berlin, Dr. Krummacher had not yet caught the true trend of German-American life, for he remarked laughingly to Dr. Schaff, that America had a big stomach and would certainly swallow him up and still have capacity left.

Dr. Schaff, when he turned in the direction of Mercersburg, did not give himself up to the thought of a life-long separation from Germany. In a lonely hour he wrote to one of his intimate friends: "What folly to put the institutions of the church away from the center of population to an inaccessible outpost! What will be thought of such a penny-wise, pound-foolish policy in 1900?" But afterwards, in unmistakable sincerity, he confessed that he owed his early American surroundings a debt of gratitude, and "but for the comparative seclusion of the earlier years of his American career, he would not have been able to do the work of later life." This was many years after he had exclaimed, in a moment of discouragement: "Oh, the abominable necessity of learning the English language!"

Let us see, if we can, in a brief way, how this German students' invasion of a Scotch-Irish community was involved in the question now before us.

First, with reference to the social, political and home life in which these two peoples shared.

Second, with regard to the transfusion of the German and English modes of thought in theology and literature, as it received its impetus at Marshall College.

Few of us indeed are ready to blame the Germans for clinging to the language of the fatherland. For the great majority of them it was the one thing, besides their religion, that they could bring with them to the new world; and it is safe to say that they never contemplated, in the departure from the land of their birth, the merging of their lives and customs in a nation with a common language not their own.*

It is equally clear that the Scotch-Irish of the Cumberland Valley, who had maintained their language along with their homes, their own system of education and religion, and their commercial life, could not for a moment entertain the thought of adopting the German, or any other new language, as their own.

The social, civic and home life was all important, and was not ignored by Dr. Rauch. He remained president of Marshall College, as well as the guiding spirit of the theological seminary until his early death in 1841. The people of Mercersburg appreciated his presence amongst them. They quickly saw in his gentle bearing and refined nature, a man who could enlist the sympathies and affections of a nationality not of his own people. His love of music and intimate knowledge of the German composers, gave them a new insight into the beauties of the profound and inspiring anthems of the German masters.

They of the practical life were pleased not only with his learning and piety, but also with his ability to grasp practical ideas. In the winter of 1837, in an address on education to

* The constitution of the Reformed Church at Waynesboro, Pa., contains, amongst other things, the declaration that the church shall be used for the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and that only in the German language, and no other.

the students of the college and citizens of the town, he uttered many profound as well as practical thoughts. "The fortune of our lives," he said to them, "and our government depends not exclusively on useful knowledge but on our character as citizens; and to form this character by cultivating the whole man is the aim of education in the proper sense."

He admired the sturdy character and aggressiveness of the people amongst whom he had come to dwell. He was stimulated by their good, hard common sense and encouraged by the eager manner in which they rallied to the support of the institutions which he was there to represent. He was much gratified at the readiness with which they were prepared to join hands with the sponsors of the college in the cause of higher education.

Around about Dr. Rauch and his assistants in college and seminary from 1836 to 1841, were gathered many young men. Most of them were the sons of German-Americans. In 1840 they numbered 130. Many of them found temporary homes amongst the townspeople. They joined in the social life of the community, shared in the gayety and disputed seriously upon the religious views which the Scotch-Irish maintained in accordance with the strict tenets of their faith. As students—many of them of theology—they were in position to accept and assimilate the best that was in the social and home life of the community.

Even in later years we can imagine the sophomore, his brain fairly bursting with "historical development," taking his Scotch-Irish friend aside in earnest and ardent argument until both would good-naturedly acknowledge that the argument *pro tanto* had no saving grace, for both were hopelessly lost!

While the Covenanters of the little brick church down in the village devoted themselves on the Sabbath day solemnly to the worship of God, the German students were gathered in the chapel on the hill, or wandering through the woods and

fields preaching and learning of God and his wonderful works. The former sang their praises, led only by a human voice; the latter praised the Lord upon the harp, and showed themselves joyful before the Lord, "with trumpets also and with shawms."

And true it is that the precepts of Presbyterianism and the "Principle of Protestantism" were for many a long year as sweet bells out of tune.

Among the students there were excellent performers upon such musical instruments as the flute, violin and clarionet. Dr. Rauch himself was a skilful pianist. On one occasion, as though in protest against the inroads of the German musicians, there came a strolling Scotchman with his bagpipe. He was dressed, it is said, in his provincial costume, and his picturesque appearance together with the old familiar music, delighted townsmen and gownsmen alike with the memories of Burns and Bannockburn.

Services in the seminary were conducted in later years also with the same life and spirit as in the days of Rauch. Under Dr. Schaff, the singing was accompanied by musical instruments, and the German anthems were rendered with good effect. The Apostles' Creed and liturgical forms were used even before the great contest upon this question in the church at large.

The services at times reached far beyond anything that the old Covenanters were accustomed to, and many a staid Presbyterian felt called upon to criticize.

And yet Dr. Schaff had many warm friends among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Among them was Dr. John McDowell, the family physician, a man of blunt humor and large physical proportions. He became a champion of Mercersburg theology, and finally united with the church.

Dr. Schaff visited the Rev. Theodore Hoffeditz, who was on his death-bed. Upon taking his leave, Dr. Schaff said, "When you get to heaven give my love to your father." This remark

set some people to talking, and they reported it to Dr. McDowell as something quite improper.

"That's all right," was the bluff reply, "Dr. Schaff knew very well that this was the only chance he would ever have of sending a message to heaven from that neighborhood, and thought it best to improve the opportunity."

One ought not, however, to venture upon an anecdote of college life without an apology. If a favorite professor in college or seminary does not in a reasonable time develop a tendency to absent-mindedness, preoccupation or peculiarities of some sort, the students will invent something in that direction adequate, in their opinion, to the dignity and learning of the man. But in touching upon this subject, we can never feel sure to what era, this side of Noah's time, we are indebted for our fossils.

The mental or peculiarly intellectual side of this theme has to do with the transfusion of thought. And it is more difficult of approach than the other side, to those of us who are not teachers and doctors of philosophy and who have not kept as closely under the shades of our *alma mater* as we should.

The effort to define it is often futile. Reasoning upon it is elusive, and any attempt to bring it within the range of common simple terms is apt to breed monotony and vain repetitions.

Dr. Rauch was reaching out towards the light, but he did not comprehend it, or "breathe freely," as he says, until the coming of Dr. Nevin.

It is indeed to the singular introduction of this scholar of Presbyterian ancestry into the institutions of pronounced German mould that we owe in a large measure the successful outcome of the language problem.

"Though not of German birth," he says, "I feel a sort of kindred interest in that people, which could hardly be stronger were I one of themselves. My childhood and youth were spent in close familiar communication with German manners

and modes of thought. In later life my attention has been turned to their language and literature. These have awakened in me a new interest in their favor, and brought me into more extensive fellowship with the peculiarities of the national mind."

These were the elements that attracted the mind of Dr. Rauch, and it seems to me that Dr. Nevin unconsciously defined his own important position in the general language movement, when in speaking of Dr. Rauch in eulogy, he said:

"He knew that a simple transfer of German thought into English forms of expression was not what the interests of learning required in this country, but that it is only by being reproduced in new creations by a mind transfused with their inward power, and at the same time at home in the American element of thought, that they can be expected to become truly and permanently valuable."

What is that mysterious spirit preserved to us from the German learning and transfused and transmitted in English forms of expression?

How do we define that something which gives to this and succeeding generations the riches of German literature and learning—even to those who do not understand or employ the mechanical or skeleton-like forms of the German language?

Questions like these are not to be answered within the time allotted to us on this occasion. But however it may be, we can say this: the portals of old Marshall College formed the point of confluence from which the German and English life and thought have flown on together; not the one absorbing the other, but the comingling of both, in the process of which and in the logic of events, the English language survives as the fittest medium of expression. Not the recognition of the German as the dominant language which had hitherto accomplished a division of our intellectual forces, but the adoption of English by which we have gained unity of thought and purpose.

He who thinks himself worthy to examine any movement in the history of our own institutions, and rests content with simply concentrating his thought about the names and personality of Rauch and Nevin and Schaff, does grievous injustice to the memory of these men. He attributes to them honor which they never assumed for themselves. He is like one who would judge of the beauty, the symmetry and the true worth of a forest by merely gazing at the tops of a few of the tallest trees.

I would not wish to be regarded as having attempted anything more than to point out the seemingly incongruous conditions existing at a time when a very considerable body of German-Americans were about to pass from disaffection and unrest into unity and peace through the influence of our educational policies; when our church instead of being merged into other religious systems, was about to be sustained and allowed to grow in its own historical life.

Were we permitted to extend the limits of our theme beyond this, many master minds would appear upon the scene who were essential to the rounding out and development of this great movement, by reason of their own peculiar talents and commanding influence.

Thus the influence of poetic imagination in putting life into the dry skeletons of history, or more properly speaking at this point, in tempering and popularizing the product of severely logical and philosophic minds, has come to be duly appreciated.

It may not be out of place to illustrate the thought in a way that carries with it the home feeling and old acquaintance.

You will perhaps recall that Dr. Nevin said: "Virtue is a substantial real essence, not merely a theory or intellectual notion or abstraction, such a view, however, making room for substantial growth in virtue and excluding the conception of a mechanical aggregation of external activities."

When we speak of excluding the conception of a mechanical

aggregation of external activities, the average mind would call for a third reading, and it was just such a proposition as this that called forth from our own poet and theologian of German ancestry, the remark: "We must take these chunks and work them up for the people."

This was a rugged way of grasping a large thought, and in it we may see how promptly the poet's mind turned back to the life in his mountain home, bringing forward the homely analogy of the knots of hickory and hearts of oak which had to be worked up with maul and wedge before they were in condition to serve their whole purpose.

This recalls to us the names of two men whose lives and spirits were in a peculiar sense a part of our institutions. And it is eminently fitting to this text that one of these bards should be of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and the other a deeply religious and poetic life that sprang through heredity from the very heart of the Swiss Mountains.

The former knew as his birthplace the northern side of Franklin County in the Cumberland Valley, amid such scenes as he himself recalls in that beautiful poem, "Middle Spring Church"—

> "Nurtured thou wast hard by yon mountain's height,
> Which now the distance does in azure steep;
> Whose base with laurels, moss and fern is dight,
> Where through its gap the gladsome waters leap."

The latter awoke to conscious life in the midst of moaning pines and the rugged hills of South Mountain, not twenty miles away. The one became a master of technical construction in literature and poetry, and a lyric poet of a high order, while the other was a creative genius, an interpreter of nature, ever imparting life and warmth to those things in which other "minds could discover naught but a barren waste."

What a deep and unpayable debt of gratitude we owe to the first named of these! William M. Nevin was the true and

beautiful exponent of the simple life long before the idea had been run into the realm of the ridiculous in this land; and it is mirrored forth in his own exquisite lines from Horace:

"As happy lives the lowely swain whose board no wassail stains;
Whose salt-dish kept with pious care, his highest wealth contains;
For on his eyelids all the night the softest slumbers stay,
Without a fear, or sordid wish, to banish them away."

Let me come to a close in the words of that other poet of ours, more in line with the theme which has been so imperfectly unfolded to you on this occasion:

"'Tis believed by all believing,
That great God himself is weaving!
Bringing out the world's dark mystery
In the light of faith and history;
And as warp and woof diminish
Comes the grand and glorious finish—
When begin the golden ages,
Long foretold by seers and sages."

CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

III.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH CHURCHES.

BY LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON.

II.

The Associations law created a new condition, and but for one provision it would have gained universal applause. A special provision, however, was made with respect to associations whose members live in common. Such associations, evidently in a different category from a literary, social or political club, a benevolent society or a business company, were required not merely to make a declaration before a court, but to obtain legislative sanction under somewhat severe conditions. Manifestly the religious congregations fell under this second category. With their religious vows the government had nothing to do: it was not religious vows, but the life in common, which in the eye of the law differentiated them from other associations. These orders, including about 45,000 men and a much larger number of women, enormously wealthy, holding that power over the peasantry which inheres in large land ownership, and neither remunerated nor recognized by the State, formed, as M. Yves Guyot a number of years ago said in *Le Siècle,* " a State within the State, capable of undermining the most solid edifice raised by a most united people."

In the course of the debate on this bill—often violent and acrimonious to a high degree, the monarchic and clerical party fighting every step of the way, a measure was enacted which greatly increased the animosity of the opposition. By it the crucifixes and all other religious emblems were removed from court houses, schools and all other public edifices which were

not religious. The measure was not a law, simply a decision of the Chamber of Deputies without concurrence of the Senate, and it gave color to the clerical opposition of the associations bill as a wanton attack upon religion. The opposition of this party, however, merely hastened the adoption of the law.

It will be remembered that after the passage of this law M. Waldeck-Rousseau retired from the government and M. Combes assumed the reins of power. With the elections of May 1902 a change had come over France. By the express will of the country the balance of power was shifted, and for the first time in the history of the third Republic, the radical party came to the front. It was a solemn hour for the party and for the Republic. While it was in opposition this party had taken an attitude which had won it the confidence of the country. Some of the finest minds in France were among its leaders, Jules Jaurès, Francis de Pressensé, Buisson. Though still numerically small it now, by a skilful combination with the three socialist parties, held the balance of power. The Cabinet, however, was not radical, though including some radical members.

Under these conditions, Emile Combes was the man for the hour. *Persona non grata* though he was to the radicals, he and he alone, perhaps, had the qualities which could save religion to France. More profoundly than any other he understood the difficulty of the religious question; on the one hand he recognized the necessity of the religious idea for the permanence of republican institutions, and on the other, he understood the spirit and organization of the Catholic Church. More than this, he had one quality which his colleagues lacked. He was that person, hated and despised by ultramontanes, suspected by radicals and doubted by moderates, an unfrocked priest; but by that very fact he was a man who had passed through a tremendous soul crisis, none the less intellectual and moral for being entirely religious. He knew, as few others in that Chamber of Deputies knew, the passionate al-

legiance, the whole-souled self-abandonment, which binds the priest to his church; he knew, as few of them knew, the deep soul-stirrings, the awful self-questionings, the agonizing conviction of his country's ills, which had forced him, as they were forcing others, to abandon the career of his life, the church of his allegiance. Emile Combes had that which also his colleagues lacked—an intimate personal acquaintance with the religious problem as a question not only of personal eternal life and death, but of the present life or death of the Republic of France. Like the prophet Hosea, his own life story and the story of his country were so intensely blended that he seemed to have lost the faculty of distinguishing between them.

Unquestionably he exaggerated the danger to which his country was exposed, or rather, he unduly identified the menace offered it by the Catholic Congregations with that of ultramontane politics in alliance with the legitimate influence of the Church. Although, as he said in that epoch-making Auxerre address which brought the question of the abrogation of the Concordat into the field of practical politics, M. Combes looked forward to a divorce between Church and State, "not in hostility to the Christian conscience, but in a spirit of social peace and religious liberty," it was assuredly well that he ceased to be president of the Council before the final struggle came. But for the bravery and—however newspaper reports may seem to deny it—the moderation, of the initial steps to rid France of a festering sore which was consuming her vitals, France is forever indebted to Emile Combes. He it was who gave to the religious politics of France a spirit, a method, a direction, from which the most favorable outcome might be hoped.

The Pope made no public utterance about the Associations law, partly because the Congregations were not under the Concordat, and also because though directly under papal authority, it had been convenient for Rome to refrain from ever formally recognizing them; partly also, perhaps, because his name was not Pius X. but Leo XIII.

In his ministerial declaration as President of the Ministry of Public Worship Mr. Combes made his position perfectly clear. Anti-clericalism was not to be actively in the program of the radical government; every violation of either the letter or the spirit of the Concordat was to be rigorously punished. Neither the Associations law nor the abrogation of the Falloux law was due to his own or to radical initiative. Both were measures of the moderate government of M. Waldeck-Rousseau. The only original step left to the radical government was the separation of Church and State. It was not a question of a political triumph over the Church—that would have been easy enough—but of the idea incarnate in the Church, rather than monopolized by her.

In a speech before the Senate in 1901, M. Combes had already spoken of the religious idea as "one of the grandest ideas, and the most potent moral forces, of humanity," and thereby he had recognized its necessity. With his views as to the relation of this idea to the State many of the clergy are in harmony.

Waldeck-Rousseau had been rather favorably disposed toward the Congregations. M. Combes was openly hostile to them, and it was he who farther limited their power by obtaining a decree in Council, subjecting them to the authority of the bishops. Concerning this decree M. Charmes, that very astute observer of political movements, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* said, that it was the moving spring of all the disturbances which followed. If there had been only the law, the Congregations would have submitted, but they simply refused to recognize the authority of the bishop of the diocese. This M. Charmes, who, with the *Revue,* is strongly clerical, found to create a grave situation, since it makes the regular clergy (conventual—under a *regula*) subordinate to the secular clergy, which is an intolerable situation and in fact a revolution. No wonder the Congregations are greatly moved, adds M. Charmes. Still though he dis-

approved the law he advised the congregation to submit. The law was bad, but Rome had said (by Cardinal Giotti, July 10) that it was possible to submit.

This advice, however, was followed only in part. The opposition to the execution of the Associations law, though fierce and sufficiently extensive, was not nearly so important as the newspaper reports seemed to show. Of the 16,460 monastic or conventual institutions, 8,800 sought, and most of them received, authorization. The remaining 7,660 made no request for it and were dissolved, most of them without the slightest opposition. Six hundred establishments, however, were selected at strategic points to resist, with the intent to embarrass the government. Most of these were in Brittany, where the people have all the bigotry of ignorance, and are by nature highly dramatic. The majority of them were associations of women, as making the most pathetic appeal.

The resistance was not the less effectual for not being in all cases open. Many of the associations which, not having asked for authorization, had been dissolved and their members scattered, quietly returned and under another name resumed their former work. In 1903 it was estimated that several thousand schools had again been opened under these conditions. The immediate result was the introduction of a bill for the closing of all schools under the control even of authorized congregations. Against this bill not only the bishops protested in letters to President Loubet, but even the Pope, in a public discourse, made his protest. There was immense agitation, but it simply hastened the passage of the bill.

The tumultuous opposition to the execution of the Associations law naturally hastened the abolition of the Concordat, but it is the most superficial of errors to suppose that M. Combes entered upon this path as a method of retaliation or punishment. The movement, on the contrary, did not originate with the government. It was started in 1902 by the Abbé Bessède, and supported by other priests of the "new

Catholic" school, as a measure of relief from episcopal oppression. Its roots, however, reach much farther back. In 1848 a committee was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to propose a report on the relations of Church and State, as entirely a Church measure. It proposed the election of the bishops by the clergy, to be confirmed by the State, thus setting aside the Pope and creating a Gallican Church. This was a very orthodox committee, and but for the *Coup d'Etat,* it is highly probable that the abrogation of the Concordat might have been effected under circumstances most favorable for the Church.

Far-sighted statesmen had long recognized separation as inevitable. It is contrary to the nature of things for a republic to include within itself departments of government ruled by a foreign power. Edouard de Pressencé, pastor and life Senator, said a quarter century ago that the sun of the twentieth century would not rise upon the Concordat. Undoubtedly a bill to abolish it was in M. Combes' program when he came to power. But if it had not been, he could not have resisted the current of feeling, after the open opposition of the Congregations. Disestablishment bills from the last degree of severity to a wise liberality simply poured into the Chamber of Deputies. The government appointed a committee of thirty-three to study them all and bring in one which would stand a chance of being passed, while yet safeguarding the rights of all concerned. The committee was an important one, containing a majority of Catholics, a large minority of Freethinkers and two Protestants. The Briand bill was the result.

Speaking in support of this bill M. Combes said that it did not claim to be perfect, though it was as good as the committee could make it; it would surely be amended and he hoped that every amendment would be in the direction of justice and liberty. This hope was realized. The bill as passed was far less drastic, far more liberal, than its framers would have

dared to offer to the Chamber, some of its provisions being, in view of the peculiar dangers with which the government has to reckon, almost dangerously generous.

The Associations law had been a necessary prelude to the Separation bill, since it was essential to define the theory of association and make the public understand that a religious association stood upon the same footing before the law as any other, with neither special disabilities nor special privileges. Thanks to that great, and till his death misunderstood, moderate-republican, Waldeck-Rousseau, freedom of association had become a reality in France. This law marked the last stage of the evolution which prepared France for separation. It might come sooner or later, it was sure to come.

When the bill was introduced it was expected to be a matter of years. Its coming, however, was hastened by certain political events. Seventy-four bishops signed a manifesto in favor of the Congregations, and were therefore denounced as abusing privilege. The manifesto was sent individually to the Senators and deputies without observance of the prescribed forms, was printed in the *Semaine Religieuse* of most of the dioceses, and copied into most departmental papers. Its character, therefore, was not that of a petition to the Chamber, but of an episcopal manifesto. As such it was a breach of the Concordat, which forbade ecclesiastics to take collective action, or any action outside their diocese, without express permission of government.

The bishops acted in the matter with more tact than courage. They knew their only protection was in public opinion, since the act was illegal. They, therefore, did not sign the manifesto until after publishing it, when, finding it not generally approved, they were able to assert that the *Univers* had published the document without authority. For some time no bishop signed it, and no one knew who wrote it. It was attributed to Abbé Birot, who alone was clever enough to do it, and who had recently made a reputation at the Bourges Congress of priests, and later, by a book.

The protest was not without precedent. Doupanloup, the famous bishop of Orleans, whose centenary the Church had just been celebrating, had in 1852 protested against Felix Veuillot, editor of the *Univers,* and had secured a number of signatures. At that time it was the Church that opposed collective action. The Cardinal Archbishop of Reims, Gousset, and many of the clergy protested against Doupanloup's act as contrary to the rule of the Church, which forbids collective action without the previous intervention of the Pope. On both accounts, therefore, the bishops were in rebellion.

M. Combes did nothing rash. He first wrote to the bishops warning them, and asking them to send to him as soon as possible such mitigating observations as they might be able to urge. This request was unheeded, and M. Combes, as Minister of Public Worship, suppressed the salaries of five of the leaders, one of them Cardinal Perraud, Bishop of Autun. Immediately the Catholic people of Autun took up for him a contribution of 30,000 francs—three times his salary.

Among other dramatic incidents of this episode was the refusal of Monseigneur Chapon, Bishop of Nice, to accept the cross of the Legion of Honor which had lately been offered to him. He also formally complained because his salary had not been suppressed, since he had not only signed the manifesto but had done all in his power to assure its success. M. Combes, penetrated with the justice of his complaint, hastened to cut off his salary. None of his episcopal brethren followed Mgr. Chapon's patriotic example.

The next act in the drama was the very undiplomatic act of Pope Pius X. in notifying President Loubet that his visit to the King of Italy would be construed as an affront to himself. This was a distinct breach of the Concordat, which very clearly defined the relations between the Papal See and the French government. The contract was not less flagrantly broken when the Pope summoned to Rome the two "Liberal" bishops of Dijon and Laval, Mgr. Le Nordez and Mgr. Geay,

communicating with them directly and not through the French government, without whose permission, according to the Concordat, French bishops may not leave French territory. It was after their reluctant obedience to the papal mandate that President Loubet notified the curia that the presence of an Ambassador from the Vatican at the French Capitol no longer served any useful purpose. Diplomatic relations being thus broken off by the Pope's own act, his complaint, formulated in his February encyclical, that he has not been regularly informed of the abrogation of the Concordat, is somewhat gratuitous.

Notwithstanding the bitter denunciations of that document, it had been believed that the Pope would look with complacency upon the abrogation of the Concordat, since it would give him a free hand with the French bishops, and thus greatly enhance his influence in the French Church. Some color is lent to this conjecture by the haste of the Pope to fill the vacant sees. On the eleventh of February he issued his encyclical in which he "solemnly denounces and condemns" the Separation law, and on the twelfth he appointed nineteen new bishops of the Catholic Church in France.

However much may be left to be desired in the details of the Separation bill, it is certain that it is in the line of evolution of legislation, which has always tended to the laicization of the public service. The care of the poor and the sick, the education of the young, once essentially functions of the Church, have one by one passed into the hands of the State, not one of them without a struggle. The Church has tenaciously held to her rights, from no ignoble motive but from an honest conviction that the eternal salvation of multitudes depended upon her controlling these functions. The great struggle of 1901 over the Associations law was largely motived by this conviction, most sincerely held. Thousands of conventual establishments were educational, and the Church could not see her way to submit the religious education of the chil-

dren to the care of the State. The laicization of Church government is the latest and apparently the final act in this evolution, and it is not surprising that the Church resents it. Unhappily, it is not surprising. Far better would it be for the Catholic Church and for society if the Church would recognize the historic fact that all previous advances along the line of evolution have been for the larger good, and so find reason to hope that they will be in this case.

The Senate passed the Separation bill precisely as it came from the Chamber, without amendment, not by reason of hostility to the Churches, but rather the contrary. To amend the bill would have been to send it back to the Chamber. In that case it could not have gone through before the close of the session, and its completion would have been left for the new legislature, which was to be elected in May, and which would presumably be far more hostile to the Catholic Church than the one which passed the bill. But though the Senate made no amendments, the long discussion was not fruitless. The friends of religion secured from the Ministry the interpretation of several articles in the sense of larger consideration for the welfare of the churches. These interpretations, which would have presumably have been refused to the Catholics, were granted to the representatives of the Protestant churches, to whom, therefore, the Catholics owe and acknowledge the ameliorations which they now enjoy.

Although the law contains many difficult provisions, it offers to the Protestant and the Jewish churches no such difficulties as the Catholic Church finds in it, because their principles are democratic and in their government the laity already have a large share. To submit to government inspection and control, therefore, however painful in certain cases it may be, is not contrary to their fundamental principles; but the idea that the civil government can have any right in or authority over the Church is essentially antagonistic to that hierarchical idea which, as the Pope states in his encyclical, is the funda-

mental principle of the Catholic Church. The very head and front of the offending of the law is not that it makes "the Church free in a free State," but that it creates "the independent Church in a neutral and sovereign State." So far as the law is concerned each individual church is an association by itself, autonomous and independent. It may become a member of a union of associations—as the Congregational churches lately became in this country; or it may become one of a federation of unions, somewhat analogous to the Pan-Presbyterian Union of the world; but neither of these conditions in the slightest degree corresponds to the hierarchical conception of the Church which is that of Rome.

"Hence these tears." They are far from being worthy of a Church which has always been wise to discover a way to make the best of adverse circumstances. Unquestionably it soon will find a better way than those unseemly conflicts which are now taking place, so far beneath the dignity of a Church that claims, and with so much of truth, to be universal.

In the other established churches the sudden removal of pressure, the gift of unexpected freedom after a hundred years of bondage, naturally created a reaction at first difficult to control. The semi-episcopal government of the Lutheran Church, and its concentration in two localities, have saved it from serious trouble; the Protestant and Jewish churches are divided on questions of organization, but there is nothing undignified in their attitude, and their obedience to the law is entire. The position of the Catholic Church, on the other hand, is lamentable, one that can hardly be contemplated without sadness. Opposition did not at first manifest itself with regard to lay government, but was concentrated upon the question of the inventory, a measure so manifestly essential that it was voted with little opposition and almost without debate, as a guarantee to the Church that the new associations—which in very many places would almost certainly be freethinking—should not divert church property from its original purpose. It was

indeed almost wholly a measure of simple business prudence. The new religious associations would certainly need, and would have the right, to know the nature and amount of the property of which they were to be custodians.

The inventories have on the whole been made with great tact. The newspapers had recorded the fact that 2,200 churches had been inventoried before the gilded youth of the St. Roch Church in Paris found it to be their pleasure to resist. Their example was not unnaturally followed at Ste. Clotilde and in many provincial churches. The tocsin was rung, doors and windows were barricaded, and all sorts of arms brought into play, from crucifixes to pepper. The government agents could hardly do otherwise than use force —the fire-engine being their principal weapon. Private letters describe them as acting with singular patience, though with no evidence of sympathy with the recalcitrants. The Catholic press uttered loud cries of theft, spoliation, persecution. Some of the articles were outrageous. The curé of St. Sulpice was characterized as odious because he accepted the law with good will. It is difficult to see what the church gained by this course. It simply furnished weapons to the anti-clericals.

It is true that certain articles of the law are somewhat difficult of interpretation, as was manifested by the questions put to the ministry during the Senate debate. Articles III.–VIII., regulating the transference and possession of property certainly leave room for some anxiety as to the final destination of such property as was never their actual possession, but which churches by long enjoyment have come to think their own. To say, as the opposition papers said, that the inventory is a mere pretext for spoliation, was to say what, to any one who had read the text of the law, was manifestly untrue; but it can easily be understood that those who desired to embarrass the government would take advantage of such statements to stir up the more ignorant to resist with violence

an inventory which they had been told was the mere prelude to spoliation.

The principle of Catholic opposition, however, is honorable, however reprehensible the acts of some individuals. M. Brunetière in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* and Count D'Haussonville, by his pamphlet " After Separation " (*Aprés la Séparation*) have done much to bring Catholics to a better mind. That there was a right-minded minority was shown in the meeting of the five cardinal bishops of Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Rennes and Autun, who were agreed in thinking it right for priests and people to lend themselves to the application of the law. On the other hand, the Archbishop of Chambéry and others solemnly protested against the inventory, saying that only the Pope could permit it, and more than insinuating that the purpose was to take Church property for the profit of the State. This is distinctly and flagrantly untrue.

After making careful provision for the disposition of property under all conceivable circumstances, Article XI. is inserted to provide that " The appropriation provided by the preceding articles in no case gives occasion for any acquisition of profit to the treasury."

If the difference between the *fabrique* or canonical council which formerly held church property, and the *associations cultuelles* of the new law for whose security these inventories are taken, were clearly understood, the laity would no doubt approve of the new order, by which they themselves are enabled to control the use of the contributions they make to the Church. This is all the more essential, now that the entire support of the great hierarchical institution, and all its large and far-reaching activities, must come directly from them. That the idea of the laity controlling the appropriation of church funds is so foreign to the episcopal mind, simply proves how far the organization of the Church has lagged behind the world in the march of thought and experience. Some provisions of the law are unreasonable and unduly restrictive of common rights, but

the way to mend matters is not by resistance but by legislation. The law is capable of amendment, and it was passed with the full understanding that it would be amended. In the matter of property rights it already makes careful provision for appeal to the courts, in some cases without expense to the complainant, and all the transfers of property are to be effected without expense to the churches.

The Abbé Hemmer, in a very weighty pamphlet, Religious Politics and Separation ("Politique Religieuse et Séparation"), expressed the belief that the policy of resistance would be checked by the Pope. The encyclical of February 11 might possibly be understood in this sense, but it was ambiguous, Catholics were counseled to enter upon no policy of resistance unless firmly united among themselves; counsel which offers two interpretations.

Such a retaliatory measure as was adopted by Cardinal Turinaz of Nancy, followed by a few others, in refusing to pronounce during divine service the sentence "Lord save the State," is simply purile. It was never ordered by the State, and, as Abbé Hemmer observes, it is simply commanded by the Christian conscience.

In 1848 the movement for the abrogation of the Concordat came from the Chuch, and was designed to limit the power of the State. The present measure ought at least to satisfy the bishops. With scrupulous care the law maintains the episcopal authority, by providing (Article IV.) that the *associations cultuelles* must be organized in conformity with the general rule of the Church whose service they desire to continue. Under this rule, the bishop, and not the people, nominates the priest, and he who formerly was irremovable now holds his place at the pleasure of the bishop. The first case in point occurred at Culay, in the diocese of Verdun, where the Abbé Hutin, one of the "new Catholics," was curé. He was greatly beloved, and the people desired his ministrations, but the bishop suspended him and sent another in his place. The people

stand by Abbé Hutin, whose successor, however, is in possession of church and presbytery, or parsonage. The people have written a sharp letter to the bishop, abjuring his authority. They will probably form a new church, and the property question will be a nice one. An *association cultuelle* formed without the bishop's sanction cannot claim it, Article IV. being in the way, and no one in the commune consents to belong to the *association cultuelle* with the new abbé for priest, which alone can hold it. Such cases are occurring in various parts of the country, even where the people are "practicing" Catholics. They will be still more difficult where the people are free-thinkers, anti-clericals or atheists.

The Concordat, being an agreement between two parties—the French Government and the Papal See—could remain in force only so long as both parties were agreed. It was not like a deed of property made once for all, but was a continually active force in the life of the Church in its relations with the State. To produce the desired effect it was necessary that the relations of both parties should be cordial. Pius IX. and Antonelli had both said that the Concordat is not a bilateral theory but a concession of the papacy, made under the pressure of circumstances, and which could be withdrawn whenever the Pope saw fit. The acts of Pius X. in the matter of the two bishops and the Italian journey were virtually a withdrawal of consent. He did indeed, in his February encyclical, protest against the Separation law as abolishing an agreement which may be set aside only by mutual consent, being apparently oblivious of the real force of his own conduct in those two cases.

Leo XIII., who, while not the equal of his successor in simple piety and loyalty to the truth as he sees it, was not only one of the finest minds but one of the most subtle diplomats of his time, laid it upon the French clergy to be loyal to the Republic. This counsel they surely have not obeyed: they failed to see as he saw that the temporal interests of the

Church demand such loyalty. Perhaps obedience to such counsel was too much to ask of a body of clergy who had been formed by a Church which is an absolute monarchy. Undoubtedly they were also influenced by the French nobility and higher *bourgeoisie,* who are the chief adherents of the Church, and who almost to a man and quite to a woman are passionately monarchical or imperialist; certainly the fact remains that in every great political crisis, boulangism, nationalism, the *Seize Mai* (1873, the latest attempt at restoration) they have always been on the side of the enemies of the Republic, zealously lending to the opposition the support of their enormous influence.

The natural repercussion of clerical intriguing in politics is anti-clericalism. This would be the case on whichever side the Church threw her political strength. But as things were, the anti-clerical movement appealed to that passion for liberty, for republican institutions, which fires the souls of the great mass of the French people. The Associations law gave a radical ministry its opportunity. The law was applied with a severity which was not in the intention of its framers, but for which the resistance of the Congregations gave some color of excuse. From that time it has been war to the knife between the Congregations and the government. The secular clergy, with whom the government had no thought of meddling, were drawn into the conflict. The necessary harmony between the Vatican and the Minister of Worship was broken. There was discord between them on the subject of the formula for the investiture of bishops. Resistance to their nomination by the government became a principle. Every name that M. Combes proposed was refused by the Vatican, so that on the first of last January there were nineteen vacant sees, and matters were brought to a head by the Italian incident and the unauthorized summons of the two bishops to Rome. With the recall of the ambassadors the rupture was actually complete. Only one of two things remained possible; either a

new concordat or separation of Church and State. The era of concordats is past. A new one would be an anachronism. Under the existing situation the Church in France was at a dead-lock, such ecclesiastical acts as the filling of the vacant bishoprics being impossible. Separation was inevitable.

The suppression of the budget of worship was the natural consequence of the law. So far as the Protestant and Jewish churches are concerned, the legality of the measure is not questioned, but the Catholic Church claims that the salaries of the clergy may not be legally taken from them, since they are the payment of a just debt, incurred in 1789 when ecclesiastical property was confiscated for the benefit of the State. This position, stoutly maintained by the clergy, has, however, never been admitted by any government, not even by the Monarchy, still less by the Empire, and it is certainly contrary to Republican principles.

As originally drafted the Separation bill made too meager provision for ministers of the various churches, and it was amended in the direction of much greater liberality. Not as the payment of a debt, but as a measure of public utility, the ministers were not to be cast penniless upon the world, nor cast too abruptly upon the uncovenanted mercies of their parishioners. As the provisions of the law apply alike to ministers of all churches, the Catholic clergy, being unmarried, have an advantage over pastors and rabbis. On the other hand it may be doubted whether their people will make as serious sacrifices for their support, as Protestant and Jewish congregations will do.

The law assigns to all ministers over sixty years of age who have exercised their functions for thirty years, life pensions equal to three-quarters of their salary, though not to exceed $300 a year. In the case of married ministers the pension reverts to the widow and minor children. Ministers over forty-five who have exercised their functions for twenty years are to have a life pension equal to half their salary, not to

exceed $300, with revision as in the previous case. All other ministers receiving salaries when the bill was passed are to receive indemnities proportionate to their former salaries, gradually extinguished in four, or in the case of small communes in eight years. Ministers will retain their presbyteries or manses or will have an allowance for lodging. Every church must submit its accounts annually to the proper ecclesiastical tribunal—bishop or synod.

The provisions as to collecting funds and forming a capital are very strict, yet far more generous than as in the bill as first drawn. It seemed necessary to guard against the danger of the Catholic Church amassing treasure for use in a war upon the State, but happily the State has shown more confidence in the good faith of the Catholic people than the framers of the bill thought possible.

How far the Church will justify this confidence, the future must show. The Church looked eagerly to the Pope for guidance, and no strong sure word has as yet come from that quarter for the second encyclical, of July 1, is still ambiguous, and floods of ink have been poured out in attempted interpretation. It appears to condemn the religious associations called for by the law, though there are those who see a way open even through the hedges of the papal utterance.

But wise guides are not wanting. The Count d'Haussonville in his pamphlet urges priests and people to leave to Rome the duty of protesting against " the one-sided rupture of a two-sided contract," and while supporting this protest waste no time in bewailing a past that will probably never return. Let them rather, he counsels, go forth to meet the future thankfully and with confidence; take up the new work with courage, ardor and enthusiasm; let each layman put himself at the service of his bishop or his priest, contribute not only his money but his time and activity to the reorganization of the Church. Thus let the Church become once more the common house, the true home of the people. Let them accept frankly

the conditions of liberty and equality, organizing the Church, from the temporal point of view, on a democratic basis. The Abbé Hemmer wisely warns against the formation of a Catholic party. This, he says, would indeed be an evil for the Church and would gravely compromise the future. The adhesion to the Republic which Leo XIII. counseled has never, he says, been obeyed by the monarchist Catholics. They are too much divided politically to form a party, and if they did succeed, just so soon as they came to power they would try to reunite Church and State, a condition so far removed from the modern conception of religion. Most French Catholics and especially their priests seem powerless to conceive the impotence of political power. They think that is all that is needed to set the ship afloat again, though if they read their history better they would know better.

Wise counsels these, and the last, with its picture of actual conditions, shows how futile is the apparent hope of Pius X., suggested in both his encyclicals that the Catholics of France will make a united stand against the law. Leading minds in the French Church have been divided on the question whether or no to resist with violence; for a time at least the resisters in many cases seemed to be having their way; the riotous resistance to the inventory which made so much stir was certainly not due to popular initiative. M. Brunetière blamed the priests, who encouraged the manifestations. The clerical organ, *Le Courrier de Genève,* tells him that he does not understand the question, repeats that the inventory is intended for the profit of the State, and is simply a preliminary to sacreligious spoliation, and that Catholics "do not need instructions before protesting against a monstrous law of confiscation, illegally applied by an unscrupulous cabinet," but the *Courrier* is simply playing to the galleries. Since the encyclical of July 1 the current seems to be flowing the other way. It was certainly a blunder on the part of the Pope to assume, if he did not declare, that the bishops in their

May Assembly (an assembly made possible only by the abolition of the Concordat) had declared not only against the religious associations of the law, but also against "all other associations at once legal and canonical." The Assembly was held in secret, but it now transpires that precisely the contrary was the action taken. A two-thirds majority voted in favor of "some form of association at once canonical and legal," and a way was proposed by which the existing *fabriques* might be transformed into canonical associations of a character which the law could recognize.

It is difficult to see how this could be done while the Holy See holds its present position, and certainly there is no such state of mind in the French Church as would warrant an attempt to break with Rome. But unless some *modus vivendi* is speedily found conditions will become to the last degree disastrous. The law gave a full year for the reorganization of the civil status of the churches. Unless associations competent to hold property are formed before January 1, 1907, all Catholic Church property becomes by default the property of the State. The result of the State in that case pressing her rights would be something too terrible to contemplate.

Nevertheless, it is certain that the predominant sentiment among French Catholics is in favor of accepting and making the best of the law. A very striking *Supplique* was sent to the Pope the first week in September, imploring him to find a way to reconcile the conflicting duties of loyal Catholics and loyal citizens. The appeal was unsigned, like that other document of which mention has been made, but it contained a pledge that some hundreds of Catholics of reputation were ready to sign it if required. What effect it has had upon the Holy Father's mind time will show.

From out of the ranks of liberal Protestantism comes a voice of hope which also may not be too securely trusted. M. Paul Sabatier's conviction that out of all this tumult of feeling will come "a new Catholicism and a new clergy" which

will save the Church—while it no doubt inspires the zeal of the "new Catholics," inflames the conservatives to fury. The Bishop of Nancy, Mgr. Turinaz, who a few years ago strongly fulminated against "Protestant infiltrations in the Catholic clergy," in an open letter of 22 pages, indignantly repudiates the idea. It is natural that the biographer of St. Francis should be hopeful that "the Christianity of to-day with its Pharisees and Sadducees will pass into history and be replaced by a new civilization." "This will not kill that," he adds; "this will grow out of that." This alluring hope rests not alone with the leaders of the new Catholic movement but with those freethinkers with whom, Protestant pastor though he is, M. Sabatier delights to ally himself; men not anti-religious but anti-clerical—men like Edouard Le Roy and Buisson, like M. Fonségrive, the brilliant editor of the *Quinzaine,* and the writers in the new periodical, *Demain,* founded in Lyons since the Separation, in the hope of making it redound to the highest good of the nation. Such men, M. Paul Sabatier thinks, will meet half way the abbés Loisy, Dabry, Klein, Hutin, Monseigneur Duchesne, Canon Chevalier, Father Delahaye, and others of that rapidly growing school and from their united efforts will result the restoration of religion in France. They, rather than the Protestants, must be the saviours of France.

To a degree this is true; the Protestants are so few in number, and so painfully occupied with their own .problems. Nevertheless, it is certain that religiously France owes far more to the Protestants, especially since the establishment of the third Republic, than their small numbers—about one in sixty of the population—would promise, and it is not probable that their influence will be long under eclipse. It is always, as Matthew Arnold reminded us, by minorities that nations are saved, and so it may be in this case.

However this may be, it is certain that men like Paul Sabatier, Brunetière, Hemmer, have proved themselves to be better leaders for the time than the man who sits in Peter's

chair. It is said that his first encyclical made a great impression in the Chamber of Deputies when late one afternoon it was brought in. But the impression was one of surprise mainly because the Pope's long silence had lent color to the report that he accepted separation. There seemed to be a general fear of the counter effect of the encyclical on the elections, and no doubt if the Catholics had done nothing to stir up a reaction it probably would have had a serious influence. But such denunciations as those of the Holy Father, unaccompanied by a positive program of action, are not calculated to strengthen Catholicism, either as a Church or as a political party.

NEW YORK.

IV.

JESUS THE GREAT TEACHER.

BY REV. NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER, LL.D.

For years Jesus worked at the carpenter's bench, but no one ever called Him a great carpenter. He expounded the law so that men were astonished at His doctrine, but history does not speak of Him as a great lawyer or even as a great law-giver. He healed men and women of their diseases, but no one has ventured to apply to Him the title of the great doctor. We read of Him that He sat and taught; and the best of men delighted to acknowledge Him as the Great Teacher.

At this point it may be well to inquire: What is it that constitutes human greatness? What is it that makes men great? Is it money? Then forsooth we should speak of Gould the Great and Rothschild the Great. In the glorious days when Cicero spoke and Vergil wrote, there were men so rich that they dissolved pearls in goblets of wine to make the drink more costly; but history has never dignified their names with the title Great; only the specialist knows their names. Is it learning that makes men great? Our colleges and universities have had many men of marvelous learning; but their names do not appear in the temple of fame. Charles and Frederic were surely not noted for erudition; yet posterity delights to call them Great. Is it official position that makes men great? A man may fill a seat in Congress and hold high offices in the State, but if he has no other claim to fame, his name will sink into oblivion like the names of hosts of others who have graced or perhaps disgraced the halls of legislation. If neither wealth, nor learning, nor office-holding constitute greatness, what is it that makes men great? Men are great in the degree and to the extent that they exert a moulding influence upon their fellow men.

On the pages of history only two classes of men have been surnamed great, one class consisting of men eminent in the Church, like Leo the Great and Gregory the Great, and the other of men eminent in the State, like Alexander and Charles and Frederic. The Church and the State have been the organizations through which a gifted man could reach the masses of mankind and leave the world different from what he found it. Of all the gifted men that have ever lived, who has so wrought upon the hearts and moulded the lives of mankind as Jesus of Nazareth!

It belongs to the rewards of a teacher's life that he has unparalleled opportunities for exerting a moulding influence upon others during the most plastic period of life. The Great Teacher gave utterance to the profoundest thoughts, clothed them in a garb of the most wonderful simplicity, and secured for them a lodgment in the hearts of men, kindling in them aspirations and stimulating them to actions and sacrifices never known to antiquity. The influence of His teaching has not been confined to one age or to one people; His sayings have born fruit wherever the gospel has been proclaimed and the Church has been established. Very many who do not acknowledge Him as the Messiah celebrate Christmas by gifts to their children and show in other ways how powerfully their thinking and manner of life have been influenced by Jesus of Nazareth.

Dr. Nevin used to say that the ability to found a school was evidence of greatness. Hegel and Herbart founded schools of thought, and for a time each moulded the thinking of a wide circle of followers. The remark of an American observer that each of these philosophers is dead in the land of his birth, must indeed be regarded as an overstatement of fact; nevertheless, their influence is on the wane whilst that of Jesus is ever increasing. The labors and dissertations of the philosopher are for the favored few, for the world's intellectual aristocracy. The Great Teacher never made a distinction between the

masses and the classes; the common people heard Him gladly, and yet the profoundest thinkers have not exhausted the wisdom of His sayings. The diction of His discourses rivals in beauty and effectiveness the best that literature contains; but such is its naturalness that the mind is never drawn from the content to the form in which the idea is enshrined. When He spake, men's hearts burned within them, and thenceforth multitudes of those who heard Him walked as if they were breathing the atmosphere of another world.

If in former centuries the Church and the State were the only channels through which the multitudes could be reached, modern life has opened new avenues through which the sons of genius can reach the nations of the earth and exert an influence upon present and future generations. The printing press and other inventions are among the agencies by which humanity has been lifted to higher planes of living. Through the application of science to the arts men have more and better bread to eat than in former centuries, and the physical well-being of the race has been enhanced in a thousand ways. The seven wonders of the ancient world have been eclipsed by the greater wonders of the nineteenth century. Machinery has been made to do the work of man and beast; and the energies of the race have been directed into new channels. Speaking of the ways in which modern science has enlarged the sphere of human activity, a living writer says: "It has lengthened life; it has shortened distances; it has assuaged pain; it has saved time; it has annihilated space; it has unravelled the mysteries of nature; it has improved agriculture; it has covered the waters with vessels that move without sails and the land with carriages that rush across continents without horses; it has enabled one man to do the work of a hundred; it has turned night into day by the power of illumination; it has seized the lightning and made it the handmaid of man; it has enabled each of us to talk to our friends a thousand miles away as though they were our next-door neighbors; it has

more than realized the boast of Puck that he would 'put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes.'" *

The names of those who invented the steam engine, the steamboat and the locomotive are in the mouth of everybody. The men who gave us the telegraph, the phonograph, the electric light and the telephone have revolutionized modern life and done more for humanity than the leaders of armies. The discoveries of anesthetics, of antiseptic surgery, of the X-rays, deserve the lasting gratitude of the present and future generations. In point of greatness the apostles of science and modern invention deserve a more conspicuous place in the temple of fame than the rulers who have occupied thrones and modified the maps of continents. But not one of them has contributed so much to make life worth living as Jesus of Nazareth. Not one of their inventions and discoveries can give the guilty conscience peace, or do aught to enable a human being to lead a life of faith and hope and love. No ruler has done so much to change the relation of man to man and to improve the treatment of inferiors by their superiors; no lawgiver has done so much to quicken the conscience, to establish justice in civil and social life, to stir up an interest in the lot of the sick and the unfortunate, and to free men from the bondage of idolatry and slavery as He who enjoined man to love God with all his soul and strength and mind, and then by the parable of the good Samaritan taught the meaning of the word neighbor in the command: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

Marvelous progress in the arts and sciences tends to make us value material luxuries above the things of the higher life. Jesus who fed the thousands by miraculously multiplying the loaves and fishes, did not despise the art of making bread for man's sake; nor would He have *us despise* the arts which grow grain and make bread. But when the tempter wished Him for the gratification of self and in violation of higher laws to

* Eugene L. Didier in "Self Culture," February, 1898.

turn stones into bread, He replied: It is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. He taught His followers to value the things of the higher life above that which stands for what we eat and drink, the garments we wear and the houses we live in. He perfected the view of life that has been held by the wisest teachers of all ages. Plato wrote above the door of his academy: "Let no one enter here who is destitute of geometry," That he did not value the study of geometry simply as a preparation for the study of philosophy is evident from the fact that in one of his dialogues he makes Socrates say: "God geometrizes." Plato had an idea that when a youth thinks the theorems and demonstrations of geometry, he is thinking God's thoughts. When Kepler discovered the laws of planetary motion, he exclaimed: "O God, I think thy thoughts after Thee!" He who unravels the thoughts which the Creator has put into the starry heavens above us and into nature all around us, is learning to think divine thoughts and to taste the luxuries of the higher life.

Higher than the life of thought or mere intellect is the life of faith and hope and love. This is a truth that Jesus impressed indelibly upon the minds of His followers. His language was calculated to inspire confidence in God's ever watchful Providence, even over the minutest details of life. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall upon the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not, therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows." Assurances of this kind served to strengthen the faith of His disciples and gave them a fearless courage from which it was inferred that they had been with Jesus. Paul, who speaks of himself as one born out of due time and as the least of the apostles, claimed to know that all things work together for good to them that love God. This faith in the Providence of a kind Heavenly Father, overruling the affairs of the individual and

of the world, has been a wonderful support even to the strongest of the race in the hour of trial and darkness. "If I did not believe in the divine government of the world," exclaimed Bismarck, "I would not serve my country another hour. Take my faith from me and you take my country too." Destroy faith and you take away the best that man has to sustain him in the darkest hours of his existence. Faith in God has done more for the race than all the applications of steam and electricity.

For the purpose of awakening the ambition of boys at school and of inciting them to greater exertion, it has been customary to cite the example of men who have risen from the humblest walks of life to the highest offices of State. Orator after orator holds before their eyes the glittering prizes of public life which are open to all in a free land. The hope of inscribing one's name upon the pages of history has inspired to deeds of the greatest daring and bravery. The hope which the Great Teacher put into the hearts of His disciples was not the hope of an immortality on the pages of history, but the hope of an immortality far more real than the immortality in printer's ink. The Christian hopes for an immortality in a world in which the soul shall be robed in a body like unto the Savior's risen body which Stephen saw in a vision of glory and Paul beheld in a manifestation of overwhelming splendor. The Christian's heaven is not a material paradise like that in which the Mussulman hopes to indulge his passions without restraint, but a realm in which righteousness and holiness and love of the purest type shall reign supreme.

In the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, which is a poem, though lacking meter and rhyme, Paul speaks of faith, hope and charity and says that of them the greatest is charity or love, as the Revised Version translates it. Faith shall be changed to sight and hope to glad fruition, but love shall abide forever. Throughout the ceaseless ages of eternity the love of man for his Maker and his Savior and for the whole glori-

ous company of the redeemed will continue to glow and to grow, lifting the soul to ever loftier heights of ecstasy and bliss. Even in this world the love that binds human hearts, makes homes and brotherhoods, and issues in deeds of kindness and charity, is bringing more happiness to the race than all other agencies combined. The following lines penned by an English student, F. W. Bourdillon, have made for their author a reputation on both sides of the Atlantic:

The night has a thousand eyes
  And the day but one;
Yet the light of the whole world dies
  With the setting sun.

The mind has a thousand eyes
  And the heart but one;
But the light of a whole life dies.
  When love is done.

The first message of the risen Savior to His disciples was a message of hope and love. It was given to Mary Magdalene in the command: "Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father; but go unto my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father; and unto my God and your God." It reminded them of those teachings which had startled the multitudes and which were in strange contrast with the reigning spirit of the times, especially of those to whom men looked as their leaders and examplars. Outdo your friends in acts of kindness, your enemies in deeds of evil, was a common maxim in ancient life. Xenophon, a disciple of Socrates, described with apparent approval the ambition of the younger Cyrus that no other man should do more good to his friends or inflict greater harm upon his enemies. It is the way of men of the world to love and reward their friends, to hate and punish their enemies. It was a new view of life which Jesus inculcated when He said: Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and perse-

cute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." He taught the universal brotherhood of man and the universal Fatherhood of God. The duty of loving all mankind and of praying for one's enemies, was a new gospel. And when we think of the ears and hands that were cut off, the eyes that were put out and the nameless bodily injuries that were inflicted in the name of revenge, we are constrained to confess that the gospel of Jesus has done more to increase the happiness of mankind and to elevate the condition of the race than all the applications of modern science to the arts and industries of civilized life.

"Jesus of Nazareth," writes Philip Schaff, "without money and arms, conquered more millions than Alexander, Cæsar, Mohammed and Napoleon; without science and learning He shed more light on things human and divine than all scholars and philosophers combined; without the eloquence of the schools He spoke such words of life as were never spoken before or since, and produced effects which lie beyond the reach of any orator or poet; without writing a single line He set more pens in motion, and furnished themes for more sermons, orations, discussions, learned volumes, works of art, and sweet songs of praise than the whole army of great men of ancient and modern times. Born in a manger, and crucified as a malefactor, He now controls the destinies of the civilized world, and rules a spiritual empire which embraces one-third of the inhabitants of the globe. There never was in this world a life so unpretending, modest and lowly in its outward form and condition, and yet producing such extraordinary effects upon all ages, nations and classes of men." *

Although wealth and learning and official position do not make a man great, they are not to be despised. Rightly used they make it easier to lead the life of thought and faith and

* Schaff's "Person of Christ," pages 48–49.

hope and love. They are valuable aids in doing good unto others and in wielding an influence for the elevation of mankind. But they are not essential to true happiness or great usefulness. In the counsels of eternity men are not judged upon the basis of what they have but of what they are. The good that Jesus did and the influence that He has wielded through the ages must not be ascribed to anything outside of His Personality. What He did derives its character from what He was. The influence of His life and the effectiveness of His teaching had their source in the wonderful qualities of His Being and Person.

LANCASTER, PA.

V.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES TO THE PROPER UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.*

BY IRWIN HOCH DE LONG, D.B., PH.D.

At the head of my claim of the importance of a knowledge of the Semitic languages to the proper understanding of the New Testament I call attention to the fact that Jesus was

* Being the address delivered by the author May 10, 1906, on the occasion of the induction into office as Assistant Instructor in Old Testament Science in the Theological Seminary at Lancaster, Pa. The time-limit set by the authorities was twenty minutes.

Of the copious literature dealing with questions touched upon in this paper I have used and consulted in its preparation the following:

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Arnold Meyer. Jesu Muttersprache. Das galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt (1896).

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N. Schmidt. Was בר נשא a Messianic Title? in Journal of Biblical Literature (1896), pp. 36–53; Son of Man, in Encyclopædia Biblica (1903); The Prophet of Nazareth (1905).

Gustaf Dalman. Die Worte Jesu (1898.

J. Wellhausen. Skizzen und Vorarbeiten VI. (1899), pp. 187–215; Marcus (1903); Lucas (1904); Matthäus (1904); Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien (1905). "Die Kracht van Wellhausen is gelegen in zijne Kennis van het Arameesch en het Syrisch. Vele byzonderheden van taal en stijl meent hij uit het Arameesch te

ethnically and religiously a Semite, not an Aryan.* He was born of Semitic parentage; reared in a Galilean home, which made no pretensions to learning, in an age when Aramaic was the spoken language. This language belonging to the large and important group of languages known as the Semitic was his mother-tongue. In it he thought, and in it he spoke, and later in life in it he habitually addressed and taught the fishermen of Galilee.

In former times we were all eager to believe that the very Greek words of our Gospels came directly from Jesus' lips, but now it may be questioned whether Jesus had any knowledge whatever of Greek. This question has been carefully and thoroughly discussed and seems to have reached a settled conclusion; historical and philological investigation has shown that the sayings of Jesus, as they have come down to us, are but a translation from the original utterances and that Jesus' knowledge of Greek, if he had any knowledge of Greek at all, was in all probability quite meagre. The Semitic, or more specifically the Aramaic vocabulary, syntax, and idioms are everywhere seen through the Greek of the Gospels, like the earlier text in a palimpsest manuscript. Consequently sound philological and historical criticism demands, as a matter of course,

moeten verklaren, meer dan wij gewoonlijk aannemen. Wij vinden hier de reactie van het streven van den laatsten tijd, om zoo weinig mogelijk Arameesche vormen in het N. Tisch Grieksch te onderstellen, en de zg. Arameïsmen uit de *κοινή* te verklaren. In mijnen commentar op Mk., die dit jaar verschijnt, hoop ik aan te toonen, dat ik in den regel niet met Wellhausen kan medegaan. . . . Jammer is, dat hij het Arameesch in den regel transscribeert, wat alleen voor de mannen van het vak geen bezwaar oplevert." J. M. S. Baljon in Theologische Studien, Vier en twintigste Jaargang, Aflevering II. (1906), p. 139 ff.

H. P. Chajes. Markus-Studien (1899).

Paul Fiebig. Der Menschensohn (1901).

S. R. Driver. Son of Man, Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible (1902).

* Against Haeckel, Die Welträthsel, chap. 17, where he revives the Pandera-Pandora story.—For an interesting and instructive presentation of the onomatological facts of this name see Adolf Deissmann, "Der Name Panthera," in *Orientalische Studien* ["Fest-Schrift" for Theodor Nöldeke], edited by Carl Bezold, vol. 2, p. 871 ff.

that any saying of Jesus reported in a Greek text be, as far as this may still be possible, translated back into the Aramaic original before the interpreter or exegete pronounces his final verdict upon the meaning of such sayings. In a few instances the Aramaic original has been retained. I call attention only to Mk. 5:41: *ταλειθά κούμ* (some texts offer *κοῦμι*), טַלִיתָא קוּמִי, ܛܠܝܬܐ ܩܘܡܝ; Mk. 7:34: *ἐφφαθά*, אֶתְפַּתַּח or rather אִיפְּתַח, the usual contraction of the Ethpeel in the Babylonian Talmud;* Mk. 15:34 (Mt. 27:46): *Ἐλωί ἐλωί λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί*, אֱלָהִי אֱלָהִי לָמָה(לְמָא)שְׁבַקְתָּנִי. It is of interest to note for our purpose that Ps. 22:1 in Hebrew reads עֲזַבְתָּנִי, but the Greek transliteration presents the characteristic Aramaic שבק. It is simply evidence that Jesus was thoroughly Aramaic in speech, for the language that men speak in moments of great suffering of body or agony of mind is always that with which they are most familiar, their mother-tongue. In the preceding examples, which are more or less correct transliterations, it is a comparatively easy matter to get back to the original. When the translated sayings of Jesus, reported in the Greek language of our New Testament are approached, the work of retranslation is not always an easy matter for a number of reasons. Beset with difficulties as this process often is, nevertheless, sound *textual* and *historical* criticism rightly demands that this be done before the saying is interpreted. Here I call attention to the phrase in the Greek New Testament, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, as an example of the sayings of Jesus, reported in Greek, one among others, that can only rightly be interpreted by a retroversion into the Aramaic original. For the purpose in hand it is not necessary to do more than to state the main facts in this complicated problem and to indicate the general results of the application of a sound philological method to the study of the saying mentioned.

* For "A Grammar of the Aramaic idiom contained in the Babylonian Talmud" see *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vols. XIII. (1896), pp. 21–78; 118–139; 177–208; XIV. (1897), 17–37; 106–128; 195–206; 252–266; XV. (1898), 224–243; XVI. (1899), 83–199; by Professor C. Levias.

Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου retranslated into the original = בר נשא. This phrase occurs in by far the majority, if not in all the Aramaic dialects and signifies no more and no less than the Greek ὁ ἄνθρωπος, human being, man. It also has the force of an indefinite pronoun, "one," "some one," like the Greek τίς. The Arameans, like the Hebrews, designate the individual either by "man" or "woman"; for the concept man, *homo,* they originally have only a collective. This collective may, however, be individualized by placing before it בר or בן. Thus בקר signifies "cattle, herd," but בן בקר "an individual of the herd," so אדם and נשא "human beings, homines," but בן אדם and בר נשא a single individual of the class of human beings. Between the Aramaic and the Hebrew there is, however, this difference which has to be noted, the Hebrew בן אדם is an unusual expression, while the Aramaic בר נשא is comparatively general and common.

The importance of the fact that Jesus spoke Aramaic and said בר נשא lies in this, that it was impossible for him to make the distinction between ὁ ἄνθρωπος and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου which is maintained in the Greek Gospels. This distinction is then not original, not authentic, and was only made by later interpreters, translators, and redactors of the gospel tradition. In the language of Jesus ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (= בר נשא) signifies the same as ὁ ἄνθρωπος. It is of importance for the *historical* interpreter not to lose sight of this philological fact. "Son of man" has no other meaning than man. It is apparently a literal translation from the Aramaic original, but a translation which in reality leads astray. In the present Greek Gospels ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is only used as a designation of Jesus, a designation which he in reality has not himself assumed, because it is a philological or linguistic impossibility. In the language spoken by Jesus the phrase could only mean "man" in the generic sense, with no implied claim to Messiahship.

Let us now turn to a few of the reported sayings of Jesus in

which this phrase, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, occurs. In Mk. 2:10 we meet Jesus' assertion that בר נשא, *i. e.*, man, has a right to pardon sin. The question in debate is whether a man can assure his fellow-man of the forgiveness of his sin. Jesus, over against the Pharisees who maintain that God alone can forgive sins, affirms that man has the power to pardon sins. This thought finds expression again in Mt. 18:18, when Jesus enjoins upon his disciples this privilege. Compare Mt. 9:8, where the multitudes glorify God who gives such an ἐξουσία to forgive sins (ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας) to τοῖς ἀνθρώποις "to men"—and not, as it were, to the Messiah. Mk. 2:23–28: "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath; so that בר נשא, *i. e.*, man, is lord even of the sabbath." This at once introduces more cogency into the argument of these five verses, for on this general proposition Jesus is seeking to justify the action of his disciples, not that of himself; the disciples are charged with sabbath-breaking, not he. Mt. 8:19ff., Jesus answers a certain scribe who, apparently unchallenged, expresses his willingness to follow him: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heavens nests, but בר נשא, *i. e.*, man, hath not where to lay his head." True! man's life is crowded with uncertainty; he knows not where he will lodge the coming night. The beasts of the field and the birds of the heavens are not deprived of home and hearth by their convictions. The antithesis is between man and the beasts. This epigrammatic saying may have been a current proverb and quoted by Jesus in this connection, or he may have coined it on the spot with his own condition of apparent homelessness in mind. Mt. 12:32: "If any one speaks against בר נשא, *i. e.*, man, that may be pardoned him, but he that speaks against the holy spirit can have no pardon." None of Jesus' auditors could have understood him to say: "You may blaspheme the *Messiah* with impunity, but not the Holy Ghost." The distinction is between the divine spirit objective to and distinct from Jesus and the human instrumentality.

For the purpose of indicating the importance of a knowledge of Aramaic properly to understand the sayings of Jesus reported in our Greek New Testament it is not necessary to follow this phrase any further, or even to take up other sayings of Jesus reported in Greek. We, however, wish to call attention to another fact which will at once strengthen our claim and add still greater convincing force to our argument.

Not only is it true that Jesus spoke Aramaic, and that his sayings reported in the Greek Gospels are translations of the original utterances, but it is constantly becoming more apparent that the Gospels—Matthew, Mark, and Luke—as well as some other parts of the New Testament, were not at first entirely composed in the Greek language. Semitic scholars, philologists, as they approach the present text of the Greek New Testament, are more and more discerning the glimmering rays of the Aramaic original or originals. The statement of a well-known grammarian of the New Testament Greek is certainly of interest here: "a great part of the New Testament writings (the three first Gospels and the first half of Acts) is in all probability a direct working over of Hebrew or Aramaic materials" (Blass).

The expression Mt. 12:41, 42 (Lk. 11:31, 32) is only to be understood by a retroversion into the Aramaic; *ἀναστήσονται* (Lk., *ἐγερθήσεται*) *ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετά* = בדינא עם (Lk., תקום) יקומון, and *κατακρινοῦσιν* (Lk., *κατακρινεῖ*) = (Lk., תחיב) יחיבון. "The men of Nineveh in a lawsuit against this generation shall overcome it, or cause it to be condemned; the queen of Yemen in a lawsuit against this generation shall overcome it, or cause it to be condemned": *i. e.,* they will show themselves more righteous before God than the Jews, when the respective claims of both sides are matched in a court of justice. In Mt. 23:8 the Greek ought to read *ὁ κύριος* instead of *ὁ διδάσκαλος*, רבי (*ῥαββεί*) may indeed signify the latter as well as the former, but here the reference is to God and not to Jesus: "Ye shall not allow yourselves to be addressed either

Lord (רבי) or father (אבא), as is customary among the scribes, for one is your lord, one is your father." In the same address to the ecclesiastical leaders of the Jews, recorded in Luke, there is a strange mistake on the part of the Greek translator. The Pharisees, Luke 11:41, are exposed and denounced for their scrupulous zeal for external purifications and then finally challenged: "But give for alms those things which are within!" So the present Greek text, πλὴν τὰ ἐνόντα (= τὸ ἔσωθεν of verse 39) δότε ἐλεημοσύνην, is rightly translated in the American Revision. It is, however, difficult to understand without resorting to phantasy, as commentators have done (compare Inter. Crit. *in loco*), how τὰ ἐνόντα, "the things within," can be the object of διδόναι ἐλεημοσύνην, "to give alms." Furthermore, in accordance with the preceding antithesis one expects necessarily: but *cleanse* the things within, the inward part. So, indeed, one reads in Mt. 23:26. The Aramaic is the bridge between this yawning and otherwise impassable gulf between "to give alms" and "to cleanse"; in Aramaic both ideas are originally expressed by זכי.* The Greek translator of the Aramaic original is then responsible for the fanciful interpretations commentators, who give little or no attention to Aramaic, have been led to assign to this passage; and to Semitic philologists is due the credit for bringing here, as in many other instances, order out of chaos, intelligible "Bibel" out of confused "Babel." In Lk. 24:32 there occurs a variant reading which cannot be of Greek, but only of Aramaic origin. A number of MSS. read in this passage: οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν, another series offers βεβαρημένη † as a variant of καιομένη.

* The mistake of the Greek translator more specifically seems to be in this, that he confused the very similar initial letters of זכי, ܙܟܝ, "to give alms" and דכי, ܕܟܝ, "to cleanse." This confusion is alone explicable on the Wellhausenian hypothesis of a *written* Aramaic original gospel, in spite of Dalman and Wernle, the latter in *Die synoptische Frage.*

† The Arabic Diatessaron (ed. Ciasca) also has βεβαρημένη: ثقيلاً.

This difference is alone explicable when the reading is traced back to the original Aramaic יקיד and יקיר, ܝܩܝܕ and ܝܩܝܪ. In Luke 4:26 we get a better reading than the present Greek text offers by working our way back to the Aramaic original. "There were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, and unto none of them was Elijah sent, but only (εἰ μὴ = אלא) to Sarepta, unto a woman that was a widow; and there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet, and none of them was cleansed, but only Naaman the Syrian." The expression γυναῖκα χήραν is surprising, because it appears only in the second place, and not in the first, where one simply reads πολλαὶ χῆραι and not πολλαὶ γυναῖκες χῆραι. But above all it is clear from the first that the woman was a widow, since according to what precedes only widows are in question; that the woman is a widow can, therefore, in accordance with good style, not be repeated in the most emphatic position in the sentence. On the contrary, one expects the point that she is a non-Israelitic woman, a heathen, emphasized. As it is in the case of Naaman, εἰ μὴ Ναιμὰν ὁ Σύρος and not Ναιμὰν ὁ λεπρός, so one expects here εἰ μὴ πρὸς γυναῖκα Σύραν and not γυναῖκα χήραν.* Now in Aramaic the word for widow is ארמלתא ܐܪܡܠܬܐ, which [palæo]graphically is readily explained as growing out of ארמיתא ܐܪܡܝܬܐ Σύρα. It must not be objected that the woman was a Sidonian, and not a Syrian; for ארמי, as is well known, signifies commonly *heathen,* and corresponds to the Greek Ἕλλην. In the Syriac Sinai Gospels, Mk. 7:26, a similar change from an original ܐܪܡܝܬܐ, ארמיתא (Ἑλληνίς), to ܐܪܡܠܬܐ, ארמלתא, has taken place; in our present Greek text it is clear that Ἑλληνίς has reference to the religion, and, indeed, as over against the Sinai Gospel, the Peshito here has another word, ܚܢܦܬܐ, pagan; the nationality appears only in Συροφοινικίσσα.†

* Compare however LXX. (ed. Swete) on I. Kgs. 17:9: ἰδοὺ ἐντέταλμαι ἐκεῖ γυναικὶ χήρᾳ τοῦ διατρέφειν σε.

† On the origin or nationality of this woman compare the following

Presumably much that is unclear in the Gospels, or that yields no satisfactory meaning, or no meaning at all, has its origin in an erroneous translation. To detect such errors and correct them is not easy, because of the intangible character of the mental process which has given us the translation. Translations resulting from palæographical errors are more easily to be corrected. When we pass from erroneous translations, due to a misunderstanding on the part of the translator, to the Aramaisms of a more formal character, such as verbatim or literal translations, the degree of certainty is heightened. Among these more formal Aramaisms are such that can only be accredited to a translator and not to an author who composed in Greek. Thus Mt. 18:15: "If thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault *μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ ἀυτοῦ.*" This expression for *face to face, privately,* is Aramaic (ܒܝܢܝܢ ܥܡܗ) as well as Arabic, but in Greek unheard of. Mt. 22:36: "which commandment is *μεγάλη* in the law"; a Greek not bound by the letter of the original would have used, yea more,

sources: The Arabic Diatessaron (ed. Ciasca) has: وتلك المراة كانت حنيفية من حمص الشام; MS. B. has: حنفية. According to this reading the woman is "from Homs (*i. e.*, Emesa) of Syria." The translator of *Textus Receptus* has: جنسها من الصور "her race from As-Sûr," *i. e.*, Tyre; a gloss adds: ق فينيقية "Coptic, Phoenician." The usual Arabic texts of the Gospel (*e. g.*, Erpenius' and De Lagarde's) have: جنسها من االغور, "her race from the Jordan Valley." The Coptic Version [Bohairic] of the New Testament has: ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁ, *i. e.*, "a Greek of Syria." The Syriac Sinai Gospel has: ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܨܘܪ ܕܦܝܢܩܝܐ, *i. e.*, she is said to be "from the border of Tyre of Phoenicia." The Peshito has: ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܨܘܪ ܕܦܝܢܩܝܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܐ, *i. e.*, according to the Syriac Vulgate the woman is "from Phoenicia of Syria" (= the part of Syria which is called Phoenicia). In Luke 4:27 the Arabic Diatessaron speaks of Naaman, the Nabatean: الا نعمان النباطى. MSS. A has النياطى.

his language would have obliged him to use the comparative or superlative, which is not expressed by a special form in Aramaic. Similar to the foregoing construction are the constructions in Mt. 18:6: *συμφέρει ἀυτῶ*, it is more profitable (or most profitable) that a *μύλος ὀνικὸς* (ܪܚܝܐ ܕܚܡܪܐ) should be hanged about his neck; Mt. 26:24: "*καλὸν* were it for that man" = *better,* etc.; Lk. 1:42: "*εὐλογημένη* art thou among women" = *most blessed,* etc. The name of Easter Sunday *μία σαββάτων*, occurring also in the Gospel of John (20:1, 19), can only be explained as a literal translation of the Aramaic, where "sabbath" is also used for "week" (Lk. 18:12), and where in the enumeration of the days of the week the cardinals instead of the ordinals are in use. It is only in the late appendix to Mark, viz., 16:9ff., where the ordinal *πρῶτος* takes the place of the cardinal *εἷς*. The plural form *σάββατα* is most naturally explained as a transliteration of the Aramaic singular שבתא, *σαββατα*. In Mk. 6:7, 39, 40 the repetition of the same word, with distributive force, is quite striking: he sent forth the twelve *δύο δύο*, he commanded that all should sit down *συμπόσια συμπόσια*, and they sat down *πρασιαὶ πρασιαὶ*. Excellent Aramaic! but altogether unlike Greek! In Mk. 14:19 *εἷς κατὰ εἷς* seems to go back to חד חד. The use of *κατὰ* does not improve the Greek character of the phrase. The oft-recurring *εἷς ἕκαστος* may well be regarded as כל חד. Probably *λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον, ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος, ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν, ἀπ' ἄκρων ἕως ἄκρων* are also to be placed here. In Lk. 13:9 *κἂν μὲν ποιήσῃ καρπὸν εἰς τὸ μελλον—εἰ δε μήγε, ἐκκόψεις αὐτήν* the omission of the first apodosis, *then it is well,* is impossible in Greek; in Aramaic, on the contrary, or even in the Semitic languages in general, it is quite the usual construction. It is difficult to see any meaning in *ἀπὸ μῖας* (Lk. 14:18): *καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ μιᾶς πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι,* if it is not מן חדא, ܡܚܕܐ, *i. e., at once.* מן חד, *i. e.,* ad unum omnes, *οἱ καθ' ἕνα,* would yield a still more satisfactory meaning, but the feminine *ἀπὸ μιᾶς* does not allow this, nor, on the

other hand, is it warrantable to supply γνώμης. What is the significance of καιρῷ in Lk. 20:10: καὶ καιρῷ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς δοῦλον, if it is not בזבן "at a certain time"? In Mk. 12:1 it is translated by τῷ καιρῷ, *i. e.*, with the article, which in Mt. 21:34 is paraphrased: ὅτε δὲ ἤγγισεν ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν. The reading in Luke is to be preferred, because it appears to be the most difficult and yet yields the best meaning.

Upon the establishment of the two preceding categories of Aramaisms in the Gospels all other related phenomena, which might otherwise perhaps be attributed to a Semitic author composing in Greek, must be regarded as presenting evidence in proof of translation. Out of the abundance of the material I make a brief selection. Parataxis Lk. 3:19, 20: ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραάρχης . . . προσέθηκεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, κατέκλεισεν τὸν Ἰωάνην ἐν φυλακῇ. Likewise Mk. 2:23: ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τιλλοντες τοὺς στάχυας. In the Aramaic ὁδὸν ποιεῖν after ἤρξαντο, like τίλλοντες, was construed as a participle. In the Greek, to be consequent, the construction would require in both instances the participle, or in both cases the infinitive. It is, however, apparent that the idea is not that they by plucking ears made a way! but that they while going plucked the ears of grain. Of a somewhat different character is Mt. 26:15: τί θέλετε μοι δοῦναι καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν παραδώσω αὐτόν, what are ye willing to give me that (καὶ) I may betray him to you? There are also cases of parataxis of subordinate sentences in the subjunctive after a command, *e. g.*, δὸς καθίσωμεν. A relative sentence with the resumption of the relative by means of a demonstrative pronoun we have Mt. 3:12, Lk. 3:17: οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. The periphrasis of the imperfect or of the future by means of ἤμην or ἔσομαι with the participle is also due to a translator who was bound too closely to his Aramaic original. A case in point is: ἦν ἔχων κτήματα πολλά (Mk. 10:22). The imperative also is formed likewise: ἴσθι εὐνοῶν (Mt. 5:25), ἴσθι ὑγιής (Mk. 5:34), ἴσθι ἔχων (Lk. 19:17); com-

pare ἐπάνω γίνου πεντε πόλεων (Lk. 19:19). In the employment of cases and of prepositions Aramaisms are likewise apparent. Ἡ αὔριον μεριμνήσεῖ ἑαυτῆς, Mt. 6:34 (compare vs. 25); ἑαυτῆς is the Aramaic דילה. Mk. 6:22, ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Ἡρωδιάδος, *the daughter of Herodias,* is less Greek than Aramaic; compare ܒܪܬܗ ܕܗܪܘܕܝܐ (Sinaitica). In Mt. 23:9 codex D has the correct reading, καὶ πατέρα μὴ καλέσητε ὑμῖν, ye shall not give yourselves the title אבא; ὑμῶν is a grammatical correction at the expense of the original meaning. In Mt. 27:22 (Mk. 15:12): τί οὖν ποιήσω Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον χριστόν, the accusative is only intelligible by a retroversion into the Aramaic ܠܝܫܘܥ (לישוע). After the same manner the variant use of εἰς and ἐν (Mt. 6:18, Mk. 1:39, 4:8, 20), without a distinction in meaning, is best explained as a translation of the preposition ב. The frequent ἐνώπιον and ἔμπροσθεν is Semitic (ܒܩܕܡ, ܠܩܕܡ, לפני), likewise διᾶ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, Mk. 6:2. Πέμπειν with διὰ (τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, Mt. 11:2), instead of with the accusative, is not Greek, consequently the correction δύο. Nor is it likely that the partitive ἀπὸ in Mk. 6:43 is Greek: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων = part of the fish. The indefinite pronoun is frequently expressed by εἷς; with this construction perhaps is to be classed ἄνθρωπος βασιλεύς = rex quidam (Mt. 18:23, 22:2), ἔχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος (Mt. 13:28); compare Mt. 13:45: ἄνθρωπος ἔμπορος The foregoing list might easily be enlarged, but sufficient has been brought forth to show traces of the Aramaic original in our present Greek text.

If then the Gospels were first written in Aramaic and later translated into Greek, the scientific interpreter should always view them primarily from the standpoint of the Aramaic language, and not primarily from the standpoint of the Greek language. To make the translation of any piece of literature the base of its interpretation is always hazardous. We recognize that the English translation of the Bible dare not be made the base of a critical and historical study; likewise ought we

to admit that the Greek translation of the Gospels dare not be made the base of a critical and historical study. The New Testament interpreter whose aim is to get at the original historical meaning will always study any given Gospel passage from the standpoint of the Aramaic language. At random we turn to Mk. 1:4, 5, the subject of baptism. Ὁ *βαπτίζων* is a substantivized participle (compare Mk. 4:3, Mt. 2:6, 4:3, Lk. 3:14); in Mk. 6:25, 8:28 the substantive *ὁ βαπτιστὴς* appears. The passage then reads: "John the Baptist appeared in the wilderness, preaching the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins," rather than as in the American Revision: "John came, who baptized in the wilderness and preached the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins." The Greek passive *ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,* is in the original language an *intransitive active.* In the West, in Palestine, the word is צבע, rabbinic טבל; in the East, in Mesopotamia, עמד, כאם. The passive construction in Mark, naming the acting subject or agent (*ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*), is of itself striking (Wellhausen); in Lk. 3:7, in codex D, we read *ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,* instead of *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.* In accordance with this the Bezan Latin, as well as the *Evangelium Palatinum,* has: in conspectu eius. Interpreted from the standpoint of the original Aramaic the meaning can only be that John preached the baptism of repentance, *i. e.,* urged it, and that the act of baptism was performed by the candidates themselves, who, in John's presence (*ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,* ܩܕܡܘܗܝ, באפוהי, באפה, לפניו), on the bank of the Jordan, at his word and in his spirit, plunged into the river and baptized themselves. The candidate for baptism is not immersed by him who baptizes, but he immerses himself.*

* I add here the following statement of which I obtained knowledge only some weeks after the above was written: "This uncommon phrase [*βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,* found in D *b e l* q r*] is very likely to be genuine: possibly even it stood in the source from which S. Luke took Lk. 3:10–15. It seems to present a view of Jewish Baptism in which the penitent administered the rite to himself, as Naaman did." *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe,* edited, collected and arranged by F. Crawford Burkitt, Cambridge, 1904, Vol. 2, Introduction and notes, p. 288 f.

The present Greek text of the Gospels is not the result of the work of the first translator or translators, for it is now acknowledged by those conversant with the facts that the text of the Gospels was for a long time in a marked state of liquidity; the translation has undergone a continuous rhetorical correction. Aramaisms were removed one after the other and an effort was made to produce a purer and more idiomatic Greek. The traces of Aramaisms have, however, not been wholly obliterated. This process of rhetorical correction may, to a certain extent, be traced (*a*) by noting the variant readings of the Greek MSS., (*b*) by a careful comparison of the Synoptic Gospels with one another, (*c*) by a careful and critical comparison of our present Greek text with the versions, some of which present an older and more primitive Gospel text than our Greek New Testament.

We can not pause to support this latter statement by examples, and hence we simply name the most prominent [Semitic] versions. In the first place must be mentioned the Syriac Sinai Gospel, discovered on Mt. Sinai by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in 1892 and edited in 1894. This Syriac Sinai Gospel offers at once an older text than any Greek MS., and is a witness to the New Testament text which dare not be discarded by the textual critic and historical interpreter of the New Testament. Nor dare the student of the New Testament text discard the Curetonian Syriac Gospels, published in 1858 (republished in 1904) and named after their first editor, Cureton. Likewise must account be taken of other Syriac versions, the Peshito, the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum,** the *Versio Philoxeniana.* Here, then, are five important helps to a critical study of the New Testament text, but these versions are all in the Syriac language.

* The linguistic character of the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* is exhaustively and masterly treated by Th. Nöldeke in Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte: II. Ueber den christlich-palästinischen Dialect in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Vol. XXII. (1868), pp. 443–527.

Another ancient important witness to the New Testament text should be mentioned, Tatian's Diatessaron. This work was apparently at first written in Syriac, and not in Greek. The work, however, has not come down to us in its original form, but only in a late Arabic recension, due to Abulfaraj Abdullah ibn aṭ Ṭayyib* († 1043). It was published by its editor, Ciasca, in 1888. This edition is based on the two available MSS., the one of which is in the Vatican, the other in the Museo Borgiano. To make use of this important and now famous work presupposes a knowledge of Arabic.

Another help, though comparatively of secondary importance, should be mentioned, the Ethiopic version of the New Testament, which is related to the older type of text attested by the great Greek MSS., the Vatican and Sinaitic. The version contains also Western and Alexandrian and Syrian elements. No critical edition has yet been published.

These, then, are the main helps at the disposal of the New Testament textual critic who is aiming to get back to the original Gospel tradition in its original language. If it is an important work to get back to the original Gospel tradition, and we believe that it is fundamental, then of course it follows that the scholar working in this department of knowledge should be able to make critical and scientific use of the helps at his disposal. These helps are of such a character that to one who has no knowledge of the Semitic languages they remain sealed. We believe that it is of the greatest importance that every scientific historical interpreter of the New Testament should have a knowledge of Aramaic and Syriac. He who has the most thorough and most extensive knowledge of Aramaic and Syriac, in addition to his knowledge of Greek, is philologically best equipped for this specific task.

In conclusion we sum up. Historical and philological investigation has shown to us that Jesus habitually spoke Aramaic, and not Greek. His sayings reported to us are for

* A variant reading of the name is at Ṭabîb. Vide ed. Ciasca.

the most part translated (a few are transliterated) into a language totally different in genius and structure from the language in which they were first uttered; yet the language in which these sayings are reported, as well as the remainder of the Gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and half of Acts, bears numerous traces of a Semitic character, probably due to a more or less literal translation. One discerns everywhere beneath the present Greek dress the original Semitic character, in phraseology, vocabulary and syntax. The Semitic voice speaks through the foreign and assumed Greek garb. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." One who has no knowledge of the Semitic languages, and especially no knowledge of Aramaic, is apt to be deceived, and to pronounce his blessing upon an interpretation which is a perversion of the original historical meaning, because he cannot see and understand the real character of the Gospels before him, clothed in the garb of Esau. Some of the Semitic versions of the Gospels, especially the Sinaitica, are older than the earliest Greek manuscript now known, and are witnesses to a text more primitive and original in important respects than the text of the later Greek MSS. It is evident that a knowledge of the Semitic languages, especially Aramaic and Syriac, is of the utmost importance *to get back to the original Gospel tradition—the text—and to interpret properly the original text after it has been stripped of its foreign garb.*

EASTER, 1906.

VI.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SALVATION.

BY PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER NOSS.

The most recent volume of the International Theological Library, from the hands of the late Professor Stevens, of Yale Divinity School, is entitled "The Christian Doctrine of Salvation." It is the first volume of the series to treat a theme belonging to the domain of dogmatics.

The theme is the one which Ritschl well calls "the central doctrine of evangelical Christianity." Lobstein has said: "The proper object and the substance of Protestant dogmatics is the fact of salvation through Jesus Christ; that central truth is the real good in the organism of theological thought, the essential thing, the only necessary thing." Concurring in this view as we do, the title of the new book seemed to us most happily chosen; and our knowledge of the piety and well-proved intellectual power of the author led us to greet its appearance with the most eager interest.

The sad death of Dr. Stevens, on the twenty-second of June last, at the early age of fifty-two, naturally modifies the tone of criticism. Of the book on which he exhausted the last energies of his vigorous mind one would gladly say *nil nisi bonum.* But if he could still speak to us he would no doubt bid us criticize without reserve. The prestige of his name or of the library to which he has made this, his second, significant contribution must not be permitted to hinder the search for truth so conspicuously exemplified in his busy life.

There runs through the book a strong antipathy to what has until recently been the prevailing Protestant doctrine on the atonement. The prospectus of the International Theological Library says that "its aim will be to give full and impartial

statements both of the results of theological science and of the questions which are still at issue in the different departments" so as to form "a series of text-books for students of theology." In this instance the author has not been constrained by the program, and we honor him for it. Dr. Stevens was too sincere a theologian to be satisfied with impartial statements of "results" and "questions." In a matter of historical investigation impartiality may be feasible, but not in that department of theology which has to do with the positive convictions of a representative of the Christendom of to-day. Accordingly we have in this book an aggressive and sustained polemic.

In the opinion of the author there are only two consistent views of the atonement, the "penal" and the "moral." "According to the former, the first work of Christ is to save God himself from inner discord by averting war among his attributes; according to the latter, he came to rescue the sinful sons of men to the Father's house and the Father's fellowship. Between these forever irreconcilable theories, based on radically different conceptions of God, lies the choice." The ruling motive of the book is to convince the reader that the moral view is the only right one and that the other is all wrong.

But there is no use in knocking down a man of straw. In one place the author complains of "a controversial caricature" perpetrated by the opponents of the moral theory, while he himself unconsciously uses the same device. It is always the part of a strategist to get the enemy into an untenable position. The great fallacy of the book lies in the assumption that those who hold that there must be in the character of God as affected by man's sin a real necessity for the sacrifice of Christ are shut up to the theory of "a war among his attributes." If we are not mistaken, the fact that Dr. Strong, of Rochester, was Dr. Stevens' first instructor in theology may have had much to do with his intense prejudice.

According to Dr. Stevens' own exposition, Dr. Strong once made himself responsible for the following unhappy argument: "As we may be kind, but must be righteous; so God, in whose image we are made, may be merciful, but must be holy." Justice is "a principle of God's nature, not only independent of love, but superior to love." "Triumphant holiness, submissive love—are these then, in conflict with each other? Is there duality, instead of harmony, in the nature of God? Ah, there would be, but for one fact—the fact of the cross." In foot-notes to these quotations from Dr. Strong, Dr. Stevens says that this position is not that of the Reformers, but that of the post-Reformation extremists, and he also notes the fact that Dr. Strong in his later writings has propounded a mystical view of the sufferings of Christ which emphasizes his identification with humanity rather than the idea of substitution. Nevertheless, the theory set forth in Dr. Strong's earlier works is for Dr. Stevens the only logical alternative to his own theory, which is: "Christ's whole aim was to induce men to desire and accept pardon. His death created no new fact in God." "The work of Christ is not a mere provision for man's salvation, or a condition precedent, but an actual work of salvation, a real moral recovery of men from sin to goodness." In a new form this is the old issue between Anselm and Abelard; but Dr. Stevens would reduce the Anselmic type of thought to a wretched *caput mortuum.*

It is not our purpose to defend the original Anselmic argument. It is to be regretted that the Heidelberg Catechism reflects so much of that argument as it does. Anselm's confidence that by the exercise of infallible reason the necessity of each step in the whole plan of salvation can be demonstrated *a priori;* the sophistical use of the notion of the infinite, by means of which it is triumphantly shown that the merit won by the sacrifice of the life of the God-man must outweigh the debt incurred by all the offenses of men against the divine majesty, and the distinction made between Christ's active

obedience, which was not optional, and the suffering of death, which was optional—these and other subtleties are not germane to vital faith, and in so far as they are reflected in the Heidelberg Catechism they constitute a distressingly incongruous element in that great confession. Nevertheless, the name of Anselm will always be associated with the view that the sacrifice of Christ affects not only man but also God, or, to use Dr. Stevens' language, creates a new fact in God.

Probably no one in our age will get a clearer view of the significance of the atonement than Rothe. Dr. Stevens' book puts the theories of Rothe and Maurice into the same class with those of Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Bushnell and similar thinkers, whose doctrine he thus digests: "God does not need to be reconciled to man; it is man who needs to be reconciled to God." But Rothe is not to be classified so summarily. He was indeed a severe critic, on biblical grounds, too, of the traditional conceptions of the atonement as a juridical transaction, of satisfaction, substitution, imputation and all the apparatus of the theory that our Savior in order to appease the wrath of God personally endured the penalty of the sin of mankind. He says: "The whole notion of 'satisfaction' required by God involves a perversion of thought. For the purpose (*Wille*) to forgive the sinner is present in God from the first and the only question is that of the moral possibility of doing so, of the possibility of doing so in a holy manner, that is, of effecting an expiation for our sin." It could hardly be said more definitely that the atoning work of Christ does primarily affect God, and that it is the indispensable condition precedent to the salvation of men. Rothe explains further that the secret of the hold which the doctrine of satisfaction has had upon the mind of the Church, in spite of its overwhelming difficulties, is to be found in the underlying thought that God can not forgive sin merely on the ground of the penitence of the sinner, but that by an immanent necessity He requires an "objective mediation," by virtue of which the sin must first be made forgivable.

Rothe then shows that the removal of man's guilt on the one hand and the cure of his sinful nature on the other are two interdependent moments in the process of salvation. The consequence of this is the antinomy that God can not abolish the guilt of the sinner so long as he abides in sin, while the sinner cannot break with his sinful past and begin a new life so long as he remains at enmity with God and under His condemnation. The antinomy that Rothe thus states is not a specimen of scholastic subtlety, but is a fact of every-day Christian experience. The sense of guilt has such a paralyzing influence that real moral healing can never begin until by a mighty reaction the soul finds itself a child of God, dead to the past, all things having become new. But before this process has begun, there is in the sinful state of the soul that which fatally obstructs the gracious activity of God toward it. To solve the antinomy there is needed an expiation. Not only does the soul need such expiation; God himself demands it in order that his eternal purpose may be accomplished.

The next step in the argument is to explain how sin can be made forgivable before it is abolished. If God can have a sure guarantee (*sichre Bürgschaft*) that in the case of the sinner his sin will be abolished, provided it be first forgiven, then God may, without compromising His holiness, forgive the sin; nay, He must do so just because He is righteous. Such a guarantee is afforded in the person of Christ. The believer, by virtue of his relation to Christ, is, as Dr. William Rupp has expressed it, a "prospective saint" or "principally holy." In this connection a statement from Dr. Stevens' final summary will bear quoting: "Salvation is primarily salvation from sin, and in salvation from sin salvation from penalty is implicit." It is one of the weaknesses of the penal theory of the Reformers that if the penalty for the sin of mankind has been adequately met, there would seem to be no room left for forgiveness; for when a debt has been paid it is unjust to pretend to forgive it as though it were still due. The

ethical view is, so far as this is concerned, in the right as opposed to the juridical. The primary consideration is deliverance from sin. When the development of sin has been arrested all that is past becomes forgivable. But some one will say that a criminal even when he has repented and reformed is not thereby absolved from the sentence demanded by the law; and if he be a just person he will, for his own satisfaction, insist on paying the penalty. We reply that the Fountain of all justice and Searcher of hearts is not subject to the limitations which determine the mechanical and inelastic form of human justice. "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses."

To revert once more to Rothe's argument, the problem set before Christ is to "qualify himself to be the Redeemer," the "principle of sanctification." In John 17:19 we read: "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth." In Hebrews 5:9: "Having been made perfect He became unto all them that obey Him the Author of eternal salvation." This He could accomplish only as He maintained his union with the divine holiness on the one hand and on the other thoroughly identified himself with the human race crushed under the burden of sin, guilt and woe. In order to perfect himself and fit himself to be a complete Savior it behooved Him to devote himself absolutely to God and to men. The degree of self-devotion is the measure of moral perfection. Hence while the whole life of our Lord contributes to the final result, His death, the climax, which marks the absolute character of His devotion, is the cardinal fact without which He could not have been made perfect and without which all else had been of no avail. It may be added that the problem was for our Lord primarily a personal one. True, He did all "for their sakes"; but His moral life was genuine, not merely assumed in order to accomplish an ulterior end. As Rothe says in another place, "there is no one who is not under obligation for his own part

to accomplish the greatest moral task of which he is capable, and this is true even of the Redeemer." Consequently it is not a matter of the acquisition of merit to be set to the account of others, but of the development of a perfect personality in the bosom of humanity, of the second Adam, whose vivific energy since His glorification is the secret of all true salvation.

There is involved in the death of Christ a terror and a struggle inconceivable to our grosser minds; for life and its issues meant more to Him than it can mean to us. There is involved also a conflict with the powers of evil, the nature of which we can only faintly surmise. We know what appeared on the surface—the venomous hatred or the conscienceless contempt manifested toward Him by the most respectable among His countrymen and by the representatives of the great civilization of His age—signs that the evil dominant in the race was somehow focussed upon the meek yet mysteriously potent personality of the Man of Galilee. All this indicates that He was really our representative, our substitute, fighting for us a decisive battle, never to be repeated in human experience. It may also be said that He endured the penalty of our sin, not as a sentence imposed upon Him directly by the justice of God, but by way of a spontaneous reaction between His holy character and the evil in the world. It was the wrath of God against sin that intensified the passions of the men who flouted and slew Him. The fact that such reaction occurred is itself the final condemnation of the whole system of evil in which we are by nature participants.

The view of the atonement thus sketched, following in the main the suggestions of Rothe, may seem to minds inured to the traditional categories, a dangerously attenuated presentation of the Christian faith; but we are convinced that the doctrine must in the future be interpreted after this fashion. This view definitely abandons the incongruities of the theories of Anselm, Calvin and Grotius, which Dr. Stevens so aptly characterizes by means of the expressions "mechanical equiva-

lences, legal fictions and governmental exigencies." It is thoroughly ethicized without undermining the objective religious basis of the Christian life. It combines the strength of the vicarious, the moral and the mystical views. We have outlined it in order to indicate the standpoint from which the book before us is viewed.

Like his master Kaftan, who with Ménégoz shares the honors of the dedication, Dr. Stevens divides his discussion into three parts, "biblical, historical and constructive." Ritschl and Rothe divided similarly, but put the history of the doctrine first. Whatever be the order, there ought to be first some indication of the author's attitude toward the whole subject. It is very well to aim to be strictly "inductive"; but it is practically impossible to eliminate all prepossession. It helps one to follow the argument if one can know the general thesis beforehand. At the same time we are aware that it may be good polemics not to divulge the plan of campaign until it can no longer be hid.

In this review we will change the author's order and consider first "the constructive development of the doctrine."

The first chapter under this head very properly treats "the Christian concept of God." The thesis seems to be that the theory of penal satisfaction is built up in defiance of the biblical concept of God. In substance it is an admirable discussion, barring the elaborateness of its protest against the assumption that God may be merciful but must be just. "What should be highest in us is highest in God, namely, love." Modern theologians quite unanimously regard love as the supreme attribute of God. But in resisting the contention that righteousness in the sense of the "unconditional necessity to punish" is the fundamental attribute, it is not at all necessary to obscure the truth that God must be just, not because justice is a power ruling over him, but because He is God. The sentence "God is love" means nothing except as the subject "God" connotes supreme holiness, wisdom and might.

The love of a man is worth nothing to his friend unless it is ruled by "principle," by devotion to the one ideal of righteousness. Much more must God's attitude toward evil be one of abhorrence or wrath. Wrath is but one aspect of love. This is true in two senses. Subjectively, the love of God wears to the sinner the aspect of wrath. "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun"; but when the eyes are diseased the same light becomes exceedingly hateful. Objectively, it is the love of God that determines his wrath. A man who is a father, when he sees his boy acting unworthily is moved by an intense indignation, which he cannot feel to the same degree when another man's boy does the same thing, because he loves him less. So God said to Israel: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities." We emphasize these considerations not because the author entirely ignores them, but because in his polemical zeal he seems unable to give them due prominence.

The second chapter considers "the personality of the Savior." The author opposes the contention that "the saving value of Christ's work for men is dependent upon the truth of any one of the theories of His person which have obtained." It is indeed true that the work of salvation does not wait until men have reasoned out all the implications of their faith. But the most simple Christian faith includes the recognition of the Savior as absolute Lord, and this, at least implicitly, involves a theory of a certain definite type. "Official orthodoxy," he says, "is, after all only the doctrine that won by a majority vote." Nonsense! Often as not the majority was on the wrong side. When councils vote they pronounce judgment on themselves rather than on the doctrine at issue. Not votes, but historical processes account for the supremacy of orthodoxy. As for the rest of the chapter, it is enough to say that while it contains some well-expressed truths, there is not a sentence in it that a Unitarian would not approve. The

point is emphasized that Jesus before He suffered promised inquirers that they should be saved if they would do as He told them. But the principal item in those instructions was "Follow me!" and we know whither He led the way.

In the discussion of "the sin from which Christ saves" it is again the aim of the book to eliminate the unethical elements in the traditional doctrine of sin—an effort to be commended. But theologians will hardly agree to cut the Gordian knot as Dr. Stevens suggests when he says: "It is high time that the problem of the origin of sin should be withdrawn from the field of exegesis and theological speculation and remanded to the realm to which it belongs—the scientific investigation of heredity and of moral evolution." While the problem of original sin has no immediate relation to the Gospel, dogmatics cannot afford to commit its solution entirely to secular scientists. If these should conclude that the ancient Manichean doctrine of the nature of evil comes nearest the truth, could the author accept the verdict? The fact is that his scheme of salvation requires as a background the Pelagian view, and this chapter on sin ought to say so explicitly. If "every man's sin is his own," absolutely and without qualification, what then is left of the problem to be remanded to the scientists? The chapter ignores the fundamental distinction between sin and guilt which rules Kaftan's very helpful treatment of the subject.

The argument of the chapter on punishment may be inferred from the question: "Is it possible that a wise and benevolent God has no concern for the future of sinners, treats them solely with reference to their back debts, and with no purpose or plan for their betterment?" The author does not like the distinction between punishment and chastisement. If his opponents will insist upon the distinction, he is ready to apply his favorite logical weapon: it must be either one or the other; which is it? Accordingly when Dr. Strong says that "punishment is essentially different from chastisement"

he interprets the proposition as equivalent to the assertion that "punishment is essentially non-reformatory and non-deterrent!" He thus delivers a determined charge against the position of the penal theory, confident that when that yields the "quasi-penal" positions will become untenable. We heartily agree with him that "the world is governed neither by law nor by theological definitions, but by a personal God." But it does not conserve ethical interests to obscure the element of just retribution in punishment. Chastisement arbitrarily inflicted never can have any effect on the erring one except to arouse resentment. If it is to effect reform it must be recognized as fully deserved, in accordance with a law which God himself never fails to respect. We are ready, too, to brave the reproach that "the old theology is suspicious of the doctrine of God's fatherhood," and confess that the conception of the fatherhood of God loses its highest significance if His attitude toward man is not profoundly altered when man is saved, so that He may properly be said to have become to him what He was not before.

In regard to forgiveness the limitations of the biblical similes of "payment" and "acquittal" are well emphasized. Such analogies are certainly "too remote from morality and too artificial and anthropomorphic to serve as precise or adequate descriptions of the method of the fatherly love of God in dealing with sinful men." "Forgiveness, then, as a name for the beginning or restoration of right personal relations, denotes the first step, on the divine side, in the development of the saved life. As such it signifies the cessation of God's disfavor and condemnation on account of past sin and His gracious reception of the sinner into His friendship. It alters man's relation to his sinful past since he now knows that having broken with that past, his future life is not to be determined by it, and he is enabled to believe that God now regards and treats him not according to what he has been, or even according to what he is to-day, but according to what

he would like to be." This is excellent. But what the author has said elsewhere constrains us to assume that he thinks of the change from "disfavor" to "friendship" as occurring merely in the imagination of the believer.

The sentiment expressed in the next chapter, that "it is Christ himself and no one single deed or experience, that is the full power of God unto salvation" is worthy of all commendation; but it is generalizing too hastily to assert that theology has for the most part "entirely ignored" St. Paul's conception of the believer's mystical union with Christ.

The author now proceeds to oppose the received doctrine that Christ's death is the ground of forgiveness. That the death of Christ has been emphasized too exclusively in many quarters is very true. But he argues: "To limit the saving work of Christ to His death on the cross would exclude from salvation all men who lived and died before that event, as well as all who, in the centuries that have since elapsed, have not heard of it and acknowledged it as the sole ground of their hope in God's mercy." The undeniable dilemma here suggested confronts any theory that holds that the salvation afforded by Christ is not obtainable from any other source. Just why the penal theory should be more seriously threatened by the dilemma than the moral theory we cannot conjecture. The argument is irrelevant unless the author intended when he framed it to avow a belief that men may be saved by the light of natural religion, or the "essential Christ." In the concluding chapter, which discusses the problems of eschatology in a more logical manner, the author seems to favor the hypothesis of future probation. Here he reproaches the orthodox for having hesitated to accept the hypothesis. He insists that "the only ground of forgiveness is the divine grace," and that such doctrine does not imply an attitude of indifference to sin, but quite the contrary.

How then was Christ's death necessary? "Was His death the direct object of His whole career, or was it an experience

which lay in the path by which He sought some end beyond itself?" To this well-formulated question most of us would reply that while the death was not in itself the end of His mission, it was an inevitable incident in the only course by which the end could be attained. Why? The author in the first place vigorously repudiates the charge of his opponents that the moral theory holds that Christ had to die in order to make an adequate impression upon the minds of men. This is a "preposterous conception." Yet when we look into the author's positive presentation of the purpose of Jesus we find that this was to "magnify and enthrone in the hearts of men the holy requirements of God," "teach men," "show men," "unveil to men," etc. After all this the reader is only mildly surprised by the statement: "His work would not have been a failure if He had died a painless or accidental death."

Under the head of "the satisfaction of God in the work of Christ" we have the thesis: "God is satisfied in revealing His nature and in achieving in His world the ends of His wisdom and holy love." The notion of a satisfaction *ab extra* is absurd, it is argued. The author next emphasizes the idea of "eternal atonement." The historical transaction in the life and death of Christ is but a "specimen." "The word 'atonement' represents a process and not merely a single event." While we agree that there is a profound truth in the ancient doctrine of Patripassianism, that God in Christ is ever grieved by sin and bears the sin that He may save the man, we object to the way in which the issue is stated. The question is not whether the atonement is a process or a transaction, but how the transaction is related to the process. And in the name of all that is "ethical" we object to the disparagement of the merely "transactional." In the development of a human drama a deed at a crisis is in one sense a "specimen" of character, but it is more than that; for it determines all that follows.

The discussions of the remaining themes of justification,

sanctification and the social aspects of salvation are very good. Here, as the author says, "we seem to have emerged at length out of the arena of theological strife into a region of comparative peace." We will not disturb this peace, but turn to the first chapter in the biblical discussion.

At the outstart the author trains his guns on the position that the import of the sacrifices of the Old Testament was "penal or substitutionary." "The original and prevailing idea was probably that of a gift." This original idea, the author maintains, gradually passed through a process of externalization, resulting in the theory of vicarious satisfaction, which he calls a product of "pharisaic scholasticism," "talmudic reflection." The question of fact here it is not for dogmatics to determine. But we may well doubt whether the chronology of an idea has anything to do with its validity. Our critics when they find in the primitive period an idea which does not fit into their own system of thought brush it aside as a crudity, and when the unacceptable idea appears first in a late period, readily dispose of it by calling it the product of a process of degeneration. Not all the ideas of the Jewish theology of our Lord's time were utterly bad, not by any means. Further, while it is no doubt true that the Mosaic law did not regard the sacrificial victim as accursed, since the priests were bidden to eat of it as a holy thing, the sacrifice was substitutionary, nevertheless. The author in one place says: "Whatever may have been the popular interpretation of Jewish sacrifice, neither its original nor its intended and prevailing meaning was penal or substitutionary" (he should have said, "substitutionary in the penal sense"). Later he acknowledges "the gracious substitution of one way of accepting the sinner for another," but insists that "the substitution which was involved in the sacrifices was of the nature of a scenic or symbolic representation." In view of the fact that Christendom does not regard the Jewish sacrifices in any other light than as "scenic" and "symbolic" it is hard to see the point in this last remark.

Under the head of "the prophetic doctrine of salvation" Dr. Stevens makes many true observations, one of which is that the writers of the Old Testament "know nothing of the sharp contrast often drawn by theologians between the righteousness and mercy of God." The point is incontestable. It is just because God is righteous that He is unaffected by the vengeful feelings that obstruct human forgiveness. This accounts for such poetic parallelisms as the following, which might have been added by the author to the quotations adduced:

> "Jhvh is righteous in all his ways,
> And gracious in all his works."
> "O continue thy loving kindness unto them that know Thee,
> And thy righteousness to the upright in heart."

We are told further: "That He was propitiated by the sacrifices or by any other means in the sense of being rendered merciful or of being thereby made willing to forgive, is a conception which is not only not warranted by any Old Testament statement, but fundamentally opposed to all the presuppositions of Israel's religion." This seems like a wasted shot. Who holds that God must be made "willing to forgive?"

The thesis of the chapter on "the teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels" is: "In treating of our subject theology has built too exclusively upon a few doubtful phrases and has too much neglected the general drift and content of Jesus' teaching regarding the nature and method of salvation." Against the orthodox theology the author brings this charge: "To expect an adequate doctrine of salvation in the teaching of Jesus, it is said, is to look for an unnatural anticipation; it is to require an anachronism. Is this contention intended as an indirect confession that the current theological theories have only a slight or uncertain connection with the teaching of Jesus?" We rather agree with Kaftan that the direct teaching of Jesus taken by itself is in the nature of the case insufficient. The circumstances in which He taught and

the unpreparedness of the disciples imposed a very real limitation. Kaftan says: "Jesus Christ is presented to all subsequent generations only through the declaration of the immediate witnesses of His life and work. And that which gives this declaration special and peculiar significance, apart from the testimony of Jesus concerning Himself which it transmits to us, is the circumstance that the revelation of God in the person of Christ first reached its culmination in His death and resurrection. These facts first brought about a full understanding of His person, mediated the knowledge of His work as a whole and produced the outpouring of the Spirit in the community of disciples. Especially for this reason is the preaching of the first witnesses of the crucified and risen Christ a necessary and indispensable element in the historical revelation of God." If it be granted that Jesus himself was not in a position to interpret His own mission fully, the *argumentum e silentio* ceases to have any significance. In the discussion of particular texts, the author seems right when he contends, after unfruitful study of the hypothetical Aramaic original, that the obvious sense of the expression "His life a ransom for many" is the one intended, namely, that "through giving His life He procured the deliverance of many," there being no allusion to the sacrificial ritual. He is no doubt in the right also when he says that "we cannot ascribe to His death some meaning which isolates it from His life and work in general." The considerations adduced to show why "unto remission of sins" should be excised from Matthew 26:28 (after "this is my blood of the covenant which is shed for many") are trifling and beyond the pale of legitimate criticism.

In the chapter on "the Pauline doctrine" the author is very bold. He freely acknowledges that the ἱλαστήριον in Romans 3:25 can mean nothing else than "a means of rendering favorable" and declares that the position of Ritschl, who explains the "righteousness" which is shown in the sacri-

fice of Christ as signifying God's gracious purpose of salvation, is exegetically untenable. He candidly recognizes the fact that for such passages as Romans 5:8–10 only one interpretation is admissible. We were "enemies" in the passive sense, being objects of God's wrath. The reconciliation must be two-sided. "To Paul's mind there is, in the nature of God, an obstacle to forgiveness which can never be overcome until sin has been virtually punished."

But in the epistles of Paul side by side with this "objective-juridical" theory runs another which the author calls "subjective-mystical." This is the conception of the life of Christ in us which renews us morally and delivers us from the power of sin. This doctrine appears in the Epistle to the Romans, for instance, from the sixth chapter on.

What then will the author do with the doctrine of substitutionary expiation so unequivocally taught by Paul? In the first place he insists that Paul is the originator of the theory. The Gospel which he received, "that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" did not involve such a theory; for in the discourses in Acts the death of Christ is not once represented as the ground of forgiveness, as it is by Paul. "Just as he was the first Christian thinker to raise questions as to the relation of Christ's person to the metaphysical nature of God, so was he the first to seek to define the way in which the death of Christ revealed and satisfied the immanent righteousness of God." In the next place he assumes that the theory for which Paul is responsible is incompatible with the ethico-mystical view, and that one must choose between the two. Traditional dogmatics has chosen the former. "The ancient theologies made their discriminations and estimates as really as modern thought ever does. They took what they wanted from the great quarry and left the rest." For himself the author claims the same privilege. Finally he regards the theory which he attributes to Paul as a "survival of

Pharisaism." "It is not only legitimate, but necessary, to distinguish—difficult as it may sometimes be to do so—between the specifically Christian and the characteristically Jewish or rabbinic in Paul." "Here, too, his own word is applicable, 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels.' There can be no greater mistake than to confound the treasure with the vehicles of illustration and argument which were supplied by a rabbinic education."

In regard to scriptures and confessions the point has been suggested by Kaftan, by Clarke in his "Use of the Scriptures in Theology," and by others that elements unconsciously appropriated from the environment of the time when the writings were produced are to be distinguished as incidental and non-essential from the positive truths for which, in conscious opposition to strong tendencies in the environment, these writings stand. In this matter our author associates himself with Tennant, who in his brilliant book on "The Fall and Original Sin" assails Paul from another side, saying: "We take the responsibility upon ourselves of endeavoring to discriminate between the thought and knowledge which an apostle derived from the common intellectual surroundings of his time and the essential contents of the Christian revelation of God and morality which he sought to express in terms of it." Here is an important hermeneutic principle, and by no means a new one. But the trouble with some of our modern specialists is that they forget that many of their critical principles are applicable only to comparatively insignificant details. In the very nature of the case the mind of St. Paul, which was not only one of the very greatest minds in the history of the world, but also peculiarly inspired by virtue of his connection with the course of revelation, must have transcended rabbinic limitations in the main current of his thought, whatever may be true of little eddies here and there. And it is worse than begging the question to treat his characteristic doctrines of sin and expiation as incidentals to his

thought; it is preposterous to ask a Christian man so to regard them.

The author completes his study of the biblical data in instructive chapters on the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Johannine doctrine. The limitations of this article compel us to pass by these interesting points.

As to the historical review, acknowledgment must be made of obligation to the author for the service he has rendered in this part of the book. Dr. Stevens was a most diligent reader, apt at summarizing, and he conscientiously endeavored to be fair in his presentation of other men's views.

The epithet "commercial," applied to the theory of Anselm, does not seem just. To distinguish it from the doctrine of the Reformers the term used by Dr. Rupp is better—"meritorious satisfaction" contrasted with "substitutionary punishment."

The great defect of the whole historical section is revealed in the cursory criticism of Somerville's effort to find an "objective element" in the atonement, while guarding against the notion of a "vindictive God," in which connection the author says: "But the idea of a vindictive God who requires to be propitiated, appeased, and so reconciled to us, represents precisely the historical meaning of the objective or Godward bearing of Christ's sufferings and death." Whatever may be true of the particular attempt of Sommerville or of the history of the doctrine in general, it is prejudging the case to assume that the extreme and absurd theory represented by Shedd, Strong and Hodge is the only possible construction of the "Godward bearing" of the work of Christ. This unfortunate assumption gives to many of the author's discussions the appearance of special pleading. In his own experience there seems to have been a reaction from one extreme to the other, and the views of men that do not go the whole length are more or less puzzling to him.

We gladly acknowledge our gratitude for the stimulus af-

forded by the perusal of this book—a quality due at once to the author's comprehensive grasp of the biblical data and the most modern literature on the subject, and to the refreshing unconventionality (we almost said naivete) that characterizes his manner of attack. With all its excellences the book is, nevertheless, not quite worthy of its great theme nor of its justly respected and lamented author.

LANCASTER, PA.

VII.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

BY REV. A. S. WEBER, D.D.

Declarations on Biblical Criticism.

From Roman Catholic and Anglican sources there have recently come two declarations on questions of biblical criticism which are interesting and significant. Both of them show that the results attained by the scientific study of the Scriptures are compelling recognition in quarters where departure from traditional conceptions has always been slow and reluctant.

The *first* is the decision, just given to the public, on questions relating to the Pentateuch. It is issued under Papal sanction by the Biblical Commission of the Vatican. Composed as this commission is at the present time of Cardinals Rampolla, Satolli, Segna, Merry del Val and Vives y Tuto—men whose distinguished ability carries commanding confidence throughout the Communion to which they belong—their deliverance is accounted one of the most important ever made by the body to whom questions of this kind are entrusted for careful consideration and authoritative answer. The decision is particularly notable because it shows a marked departure from the unchanged conservatism which hitherto had characterized its findings.

Under five several headings it makes substantially the following well-guarded declarations: (1) The Books of the Bible collectively known as the Pentateuch are correctly attributed to the authorship of Moses. (2) It is not necessary to believe, however, that Moses actually wrote with his own hand, or

dictated to an amanuensis, everything contained in the Pentateuch. (3) Moses is rather to be regarded as having conceived the work under divine inspiration, and to have entrusted the writing of it to other person or persons, and that the work thus formed and approved by Moses, as the principal and inspired author, was made public under his name. (4) It is to be conceded, also, the decision adds, without prejudice to the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch, that Moses used "sources," written documents or oral traditions, from which to suit his spirit and purpose, and that under the influence of divine inspiration, he selected some things and inserted them in his work, thus summarizing or amplifying, as his designs required. (5) Moreover, "due regard being paid to the judgment of the Church," it may be admitted, the decision continues, that in the long course of the ages some modifications have been introduced into the text of these early writings. Among these modifications there may be additions made after the death of Moses, either inserted by an inspired later author, or attached to the text as glosses or interpretations, "concerning which it is lawful to investigate and judge according to the laws of historic criticism." These concessions, it may be granted, do not go very far in the way of recognizing the right and the results of critical investigations in the Bible, but the distance they do go signifies a great deal.

The *second* is a volume* edited by the Rev. Hubert Handley, M.A., in which the names of seventeen hundred and twenty-five of the clergy of the Anglican communion are given as uniting in a petition which asks for ecclesiastical authority, personally to accept and publicly to declare in their ministry, the properly established results of modern criticism, not only of the Old Testament, but likewise of the New Testament. Their plea is, that however delicate the issues involved, "the Christian faith must not be buttressed by exploded theory or doubtful history." They appreciate, it is

* "A Declaration on Biblical Criticism," A. & C. Black, London, 2s. net.

evident, that dogmatism regarding the Bible, however ancient, is far more to be feared in its effect upon faith and religion than the results of the movement which insists upon reverent, critical inquiry as to the nature and content of the Sacred Scriptures.

Coming from two of the large and widely influential, historical churches, as they do, these declarations may be taken as indications of the progress that is being made by Christian scholarship in the way of successfully commending the results of its work to increasing numbers of devout men in the churches. Instead of undermining their faith in Jesus Christ, the acceptance of those results removes obstacles to intelligent piety, and deepens devotion to the forwarding of God's kingdom among men. In a new preface to his book† on "Inspiration and the Bible," a new edition of which has just made its appearance, the Rev. R. W. Horton, D.D., finds much satisfaction in being able to note such progress. Twenty years ago when the first edition of the volume was issued, its contentions were savagely assailed and its author denounced as heretical in his teachings. He was not received into the pulpits of certain sister denominations, and even by brethren of his own order regarded an unsafe leader. Now the situation is different. Great changes have taken place. The heresy of yesterday has become the truism of to-day. Doctor Horton is one of the most highly esteemed and widely sought-after ministers in the English metropolis, and his books are given cordial and enthusiastic reception in the churches generally. Is not this change as wholesome as it is reassuring?

Social Service an Essential Duty of the Christian Church.

In the opening chapter of his comprehensive and masterly "examination of the teaching of Jesus in its relation to some of the problems of modern social life," a distinguished Amer-

† "Inspiration and the Bible," by Dr. Horton, Unwin, London, 2s. net.

ican writer* has done several things, any one of which would have been sufficient to place his readers under obligations to him. He has (1) clearly and convincingly shown that among human interests the social question is, at the present time, central and commanding. "No one," he observes, "who lifts his eyes from his own private life can mistake the signs of the times in this regard. Never were so many people, learned and ignorant, rich and poor, philosophers and agitators, men and women, stirred, . . . by the call to social service and by dreams of a better social world. The literature of the present age is saturated with the desire for social amelioration or social revolution, and to pretend that social life is undisturbed, or is but superficially agitated, is simply to confess that one has been caught in an eddy of the age, and does not feel the sweep of its main current." He has (2) traced the history of ameliorative and philanthropic effort, and has characterized certain features of its progress with rare wisdom and insight. Under quiet protest it has accepted existing conditions as irremediable, and sought therefore to mitigate the harder and harsher effect of those conditions, only to find the need of such service constantly enlarging. And he has (3) pointed out the important fact that the present-day temper makes of the social question in our time, something wholly different from the alleviative, economic and social agitations and purposes of the past. "Beneath all the tranquilizing arrangements of philanthropy and industry which are being applied to social disorder," he declares, "there is a vast and rising tide of discontent stirring to its very bottom the stream of social life," and one must be living very remote from the centers of intellectual and industrial life if the truth of this has not been forced on one's notice. The social question now does not concern itself simply with the mitigation of the evils

* Professor Francis G. Peabody, in his "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," the sub-title to which is above quoted. The Macmillan Company, New York.

of the existing order—it is bent upon dealing with the question whether the order itself has a right to continue. Not social amelioration, but social transformation and reconstruction are the watchwords now engaging attention. Not with conditions and effects, so much as with the causes producing them, is the thought of our time concerned. Instead of inquiring how best to administer charity, the new temper demands the readjustment of the cruel, debasing and iniquitous, social and industrial order, which causes so much of poverty and necessitates corresponding charity. "Not a merciful use of things as they are," says our learned author, "but a state of things where mercy will not be necessary; not patronage, but justice; not the generous distribution of superfluous wealth, but the righteous restitution of wealth to those who have created it—such are the demands to which our ears have of late become accustomed, and which indicate the character of the modern social question."

The situation, as thus stated in the opening pages of a book which has made perhaps the deepest impression upon American readers of any that has been published for a generation in our country, is here referred to with a view of emphasizing the importance of the Church's asking, What attitude ought to be assumed by it toward the social movement of our time? and in connection with the question to notice the answer which, in a practical way, some branches of it are giving to the inquiry.

Since the days of Maurice and Kingsley in England, and of Stöcker a generation later, in Germany, there have been many thoughtful people believing with them, "that the Church must Christianize socialism, or else socialism will shake the very foundations of organized Christianity." In other words, the Church must arouse itself to the recognition and performance of duties which lie beyond its ministry to individuals and to so-called individual salvation. It must see and attend to the requirements made by the social question

of the day or forfeit more and more the hold it ought to have upon the large numbers who are not to be satisfied by a non-commital attitude on its part, nor by blinking the great questions at issue.

Abroad and here at home signs are not wanting that the Church is awakening to the necessities thus confronting it. In Germany, "under principles of Christianity and patriotism, persons of all classes and occupations in the churches, who feel moved by the Christian social spirit," are forming associations for the purpose of considering and attending to these broader claims of society. In England, the "Christian Social Union," which was originated under the leadership of the late Bishop Westcott, and which at this time has Bishop Gore as its president and Canon H. Scott Holland, the noted preacher, as its eloquent promoter, is earnestly at work with the purpose of accomplishing similar aims. Its program is, (1) "publicly and unitedly to claim for the Christian law an ultimate authority to rule social practice; (2) to study how best to apply Christian principles to the solution of the pressing social and economic difficulties of the age; and (3) to present Christ as the living Master and King in practical life, the enemy of wrong and selfishness in every form, and the power of righteousness and love everywhere. In our own country, among the Episcopalians an American branch of this British association has been started, and the ends aimed at are receiving careful attention. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has instituted a similar movement, and assigned the direction and development of the purpose to a competent superintendent. If the plan of federating the various Christian churches according to the suggestions of the Inter-Church Conference of last year, will be consummated, work along these lines of social service would no doubt constitute one of the most important and useful departments to challenge serious thought and coöperative effort.

A late issue of the *Churchman* observes that the message of

such social activity "is the message of the Incarnation. Because the Son of God has come in touch with human life, every part of that life has been sanctified by His entrance into it. For His followers, therefore, religion must mean the bringing of God into every work they have to do, or rather the lifting up of every work into the life of God." This agrees with what Dean Hodges has been insisting on with such powerful and repeated urgency in the several books* which have done so much in the way of stimulating and guiding current thought on this subject. "Christianity must get a grip on all life if its designs are to be met; it is not worth having unless it makes us better men and women in every-day affairs, more honest and upright in business, more just and honorable in our social relations, more fair to others if we are employers, more faithful if we are of the employed. The religion which does this six days of the week is just six times as valuable as the religion which allows us to do what we will on those days, and then tries to help us serve God on Sunday!"

The effort to promote social service according to such conceptions ought readily to command general approval among those that profess and call themselves Christians, and if this is what Christian socialism stands for and endeavors to accomplish, the ill odor which for many the word "socialism" has would speedily be lost. It is not a spurious liberalism, not an extravagant and rapacious antagonism to ecclesiastical institutions, not an atheistic tendency under whose banner revolutionary extremists are working to overthrow existing social conditions—it is rather a distinct religious effort to bring all life, individual and social, industrial and national, under the sway of law according to the mind of Christ. And instead of deserving our reprobation, or to be looked upon with suspicion, ought it not to command our support, and does

* The titles of the books referred to are: "Christianity Between Sundays," "The Heresy of Cain," "Faith and Social Service" and "In this Present World." They are published by Thomas Whittaker, New York.

it not justify itself to our regard by what it attempts and is accomplishing? In England, for example, the Social Union of which we have spoken, has now for some time been in the very forefront of every movement for social betterment. It has worked for and secured, to an extent that would not have been possible under individual effort, changes in work-shop and factory laws, improvements in housing conditions for the poor, sympathetic assistance to the down-trodden, the degenerate and the unemployed, restrictions in the employment of women and children, and provisions in the way of healthier sanitary and moral surroundings for all classes of working people. By sermons, by lectures, by newspaper articles, by pamphlets, this organization, meanwhile, is scattering information, building up public opinion, enlightening and strengthening the individual and public conscience—all of which must aid in effecting other important and necessary changes in the unhallowed conditions now obtaining. Is not work along corresponding lines loudly called for in our land, in every one of the great centers of population? Conscious of this, what should the Church do in the way of organized, coöperative and sympathetic effort to bring about the needed change? There can be no room for doubt as to the proper answer. Not only should individual interests be enlisted in the furtherance and support of such social effort—entire church organizations as such should, by concerted action, lend a helping hand to this "central and commanding" cause of the age.

A Leader of Thought in Matters of Faith Gone.

On the twenty-second of last June Dr. George B. Stevens, Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale Divinity School, died at the age of fifty-two years. In his death, not only the institution with which he was connected but American scholarship in general has sustained a great loss. After being graduated from Rochester University and Yale Divinity School in 1877 and 1880, respectively, he filled brief pastor-

ates in Buffalo and Watertown, New York. Subsequently he studied in Germany, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Jena. Since 1885 he was a member of the faculty of the school in whose service he continued to the end of his life, during the earlier years as professor of New Testament criticism and interpretation, and after the death of Dr. Samuel Harris, as the latter's successor, in the principal chair of the institution.

The promise of his brilliant academic career was well sustained during the years of his professorial service. His distinguished ability as a trustworthy guide in appraising the value of the critical and speculative conclusions of others, probably as much as that which is shown in the orginal product of his own study and investigation, has long been recognized and gratefully acknowledged by contemporary scholars. In both directious his ability made him an authority among present-day thinkers, and the passing of comparatively few leaders among us would have occasioned more general regret or more genuine sorrow. With keen and penetrating intellectual powers and a fine balance of discriminating judgment, he united a remarkably simple and winsome personality. By nature and attainments he was qualified to bind to himself in strong esteem and sincere affection not only the students whom he taught and the ministry of the church of his order, but hosts of others who had the pleasure of personal acquaintance with him, or knew him only through his contributions to theological literature. Through his class-room lectures, his sermons and his writings he wielded an influence of great importance to the religious thought of our age and country, and several features characteristic of his theological work may perhaps be profitably referred to, in connection with this memorial note.

1. Doctor Stevens grounded his system of religious thought and theological science on broad, catholic principles. That explains why for him the differences of schools counted so

much less than the great accords of universal faith, and, also, why from a denominational school he could speak with such favor and acceptability to men of all churches. The broad foundations on which he built his utterances, written and oral, helped him to avoid without conscious design controversial aspects of the truth; or better, perhaps, he silenced controversy by emphasizing fundamental truths in a way that made them, in his setting, of real service in meeting the intellectual and practical needs of Christian people of every name. He was not a dogmatician. In the spirit of a "sweet reasonableness" he assumed the substance of Christian doctrine to be true in a broad and undisputed sense, and left to others the divisive work of definition, criticism and exegesis in the interests of particular theories and dogmas. His solid sense, his open-minded faith, his frank efforts to use new light in placing the teachings of Christ in right and reasonable relations with the accepted realities of life and experience—these facts gave weight to his words and made them generally welcome and helpful.

2. In the mind of Professor Stevens, the value of all religious and theological knowledge must be estimated according to the significance it has for the supreme end of life—character. Possibly the most self-revealing piece of work performed by him is the book* which he published at the time of his accession to the Dwight professorship at New Haven. The first chapter of that excellent little treatise is devoted to an illuminating discussion of the relation of doctrine to life, and may be taken as a declaration of the principles by which he proposed being guided in his search after the truth for himself, and, in the impartation of it to others.

"It will be seen," he says, "that theology and religion are related to each other as theory to fact or reality. It involves

* "Doctrine and Life"—a study of some of the principal truths of the Christian Religion in their relation to Christian experience. By Geo. B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D. Silver, Burdett & Co., New York, 1895.

no disparagement of theology to say that it is theory. In all human life theory and practice are inseparably conjoined, and react powerfully on each other. That a vicious theory may be harmful is evident, since it may suggest or involve motives and methods of action. All theory is a product of thought, and thought is most closely related to conduct. There may, indeed, be theories which are so remote from all human interests as to involve no practical consequences; but this cannot be said of those which concern the more essential truths of religion. Moreover, the view so commonly advanced, that a certain theory may be inherently right, but the opposite of it justified in practice, is a sophism which no sound philosophy can support. It is important to adopt in theology and morals the soundest and most adequate theories which are attainable. In our time indifference to doctrine seems to be thought by many to be the mark of supreme devotion to truth. But indifference to doctrine is indifference to thought on the themes of religion, and religious thought can never be wisely disparaged in the supposed interests of religious life. I grant that it is important to recognize the limits beyond which we cannot go in our efforts to describe the nature and action of God and the mysteries of our own being. But these limitations do not preclude all thought about these realities. If we know *anything* about them, we must have theology. If we know *nothing* about them, how can we have even religion?"

Although written more than ten years ago, these words have lost none of their timeliness and force in contending for the need and worthy practical purpose of Christian doctrine in an orderly and systematized form. All around us there are still many, even would-be religious teachers, who do not hesitate to pour contempt on theology. Often in ill-considered language such ones may be heard to disparage not simply the ancient systems of doctrinal truth, but those of more recent date whose statements are more rational and a closer approximation to a thoroughly defensible and satisfying ideal. There

is solid usefulness in having a knowledge of Christian truth in carefully worded and closely articulated statements, not—as the opponents of theology just referred to seem mistakenly to suppose—for the purpose of formulating a logically constructed system of doctrine by which to test intellectual orthodoxy, but rather for the purpose of having a sound, rational basis to support the highest form of moral and religious life, and to inspire the noblest Christian character. The contentions of our lamented author along these lines met with approbation in many of the historic churches, and it is to be hoped they may be destined to effect needed changes of opinion among those who as yet are not persuaded that it is a knowledge of the truth that conditions personal freedom, which is only a description of loftiest character.

3. According to Doctor Stevens' view, we are to believe the needed system of Christian doctrine to be an ideal as yet only imperfectly realized, but capable of being realized with increasing fulness through the accumulating results which devout students, guided by the Spirit, are achieving. In other phrase, he inculcated confidence in the living growth of Christian thought. He was, in his own life as a student, a progressive theologian. He could not rest satisfied with the traditional theologies of the early Fathers, nor with those of the sixteenth century. The *forms* in which truth was stated in other ages and circumstances failed to command his acceptance and approval. He was not disposed to close his eyes to the new light brought by modern scientific and historic investigations. He was not willing to justify a theology of nescience and indifference, nor would he stifle the demands which his rational nature made upon him. He was responsive to the suggestions of men like Schleiermacher and Coleridge, Maurice and Robertson, Tholuck and Dorner, in one realm of thought, to those of W. Robertson Smith and Cheyne, Ritschl and Harnack, Darwin and Drummond, in other realms. This general observation is not intended to convey the impression

that he was ready to follow these men the full lengths to which they went in their thinking, but that he recognized them as earnest searchers after the truth and worthy therefore of receiving a sympathetic hearing. It means that under their leadership he felt it necessary to modify the older theological formulas and doctrinal interpretations—his method in doing this being evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Without repudiating the truths imperfectly stated in the historic confessions of the Church, he insisted those confessions had been outgrown, and ought, therefore, to be displaced by others framed after the best established results of recent scholarship.

The freedom which he claimed for himself in this regard he cheerfully accorded to others also. Divergence in doctrinal conceptions, in his judgment, was a sign of vitality to be regarded with satisfaction, rather than as a valid reason for looking with suspicion upon a fellow Christian, or for refusing to fellowship in Christian effort and activity with denominations thus separated. In this matter Professor Stevens certainly represented and fostered a catholicity of spirit which is one of the most admirable that at present is characterizing the Church, and which owes its existence and growth very largely to the broad-minded and courageous leadership of men like him. Whenever discovered by men, that spirit appeals to them, and in the case of the lamented author and teacher of whom we are now writing it accounts in a large measure for the wide influence he wielded and for the warm affection with which so many esteemed him.

The doctrinal modifications, above alluded to, which grew out of his spirit and method as a Christian theologian, are on record in the books with which he has enriched the religious and theological literature of our age. Into the particulars of these modifications it is not the purpose of these notes to make inquiry. That must be left for individuals to do for themselves by taking up and studying his books. In addition

to the volume already mentioned, there are three* others which by many are regarded as permanently important and significant for religion and theology. The suggestions he made are generally so sane as to insure for them cordial and grateful welcome, and the conclusions reached are always so reasonable and self-authenticating, that it may be confidently affirmed they will not soon be superseded. Thinking men interested in the great questions with which these books deal, may well feel themselves largely and lastingly indebted to him for the service he has rendered. If the service is that of one who reflects the light of German thought and scholarship, as much as it discloses that of original research and philosophical speculation, it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged to point the way with extraordinary distinctness to a more rational method of dealing with the great mysteries of our faith, and for the application of doctrinal truths to the individual and social problems of the day. It may be granted that in some respects he does not rank with certain earlier theologians of our country whose names are familiar in the churches, but from a practical viewpoint his theological and biblical labors met the peculiar needs of the age with a skill and to an extent that, it is more than probable, he will be remembered when the more original and speculative theologians are forgotten.

BALTIMORE, MD.

* "The Pauline Theology," 1892; "The Theology of the New Testament," 1899; and "The Christian Doctrine of Salvation," 1905. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.

VIII.

CHRISTIAN UNITY IN THE REFORMED CHURCH —AN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

BY REV. CONRAD CLEVER, D.D.

When the Titans of human history press forward to blaze the trees as guideposts for the paths along which subsequent centuries must go, they are not always as sensitive to the amenities of life as might be expected. They mock the well-fed prophets of Baal with a sarcasm that stings to the quick of the whole personality. Clad in their camels'-hair garments, and eking out, without complaint, their existence upon locusts and wild honey, they call for repentance and judgment while they hear the footsteps of the coming King. Kings feel the weight of their fiery tongues, and adulterers cower before them, chattering with remorse if not repentance. They do not feast in king's houses nor wear gay clothing. It ought not surprise us if even the gentler requirements of the Man of Gallilee are forgotten by men like these. They see the gleaming ax lying at the root of the national tree, and with excited fury rail out against every form of wickedness. They are iconoclasts and are not always able to discern the sweeter notes of that charity that is twice blessed, blessing him that gives and him that receives. With the ruthlessness of the reaper that cuts down with the grass and clover, the nest in which so much untutored melody sleeps, these sweep away with the refuge of lives, much that in calmer moments would have been spared. At times like this when the spirit of the forerunner revels riotously, it is a matter of rejoicing when one stands up boldly with the sweet reasonableness of Jesus.

The actors in the great Reformation drama, which so frequently was tragic, were pioneers. The King's business re-

quired that unmerciful blows be given the enemies of advancing civilization. Those who could deal such strokes could not come forth, debilitated by social excesses. While all this is true the harmlessness of the dove should be joined with the wisdom of the serpent. There was one voice in that clash of arms that seldom, if ever, forgot the admonitions of the Gospel. There was much in his temperament and training that prompted him to exercise this spirit. But it should be noted that his very first effort at practical reform came after a careful study and exposition of the Gospels. From these he felt that he could pluck the flowers from the Paradise of God, that he might scatter upon the pathway of those who were weary with the conflict of sin. Ulric Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer and Founder of the Reformed Church, was always intensely sensitive to anything that would unnecessarily rend the seamless robe of Christ. Melanchthon had much of the same spirit, but without that independence of character, which enabled him to break away from the iron grip of the great Saxon Reformer. After this was loosed by the hand of death and the leaven of Zwingli's influence had made itself felt, he too recognized the sin of schism. But in the early days of the Reformation, when the individualism and liberty of Protestantism wasted themselves in riotous extravagance, Zwingli, almost alone, sought for peace and union. It was this spirit that prompted him to give such a welcome to Carlstadt, when he had fallen into disfavor with the Wittenberg theologians. At first he in a mild way defended Carlstadt, and his confreres, though later he was forced to take a stand against him. Even then when the council of Zurich, on account of the dangerous tendencies of his political teachings, which seemed to threaten the stability of the government, had cast some of the leaders into prison, Zwingli objected to the decree, and plead for such disputations as might bring them to see their errors, and to come back into the fold.

This brotherly kindness shown to one whom Luther hated

as generously as he did popery led to strained relations between Zurich and Wittenberg. Charges and counter-charges were made with reckless disregard of the peace and quietness of the Church. Men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming upon the earth. To many it seemed to be good to be casting about for some way by which they might get back into the old fold with the least possible sacrifice of self-respect. To others there was a heart-sickness that there should be such an unseemly strife among the brethren. Luther, a past master in vituperation, when his anger was stirred, assigned Zwingli and his followers to a place outside the pale of mercy. It was when this spectacle of sinful conflict became unendurable that the magnanimous Prince Philip of Hesse sought to bring the contestants together to a disputation. The place selected could only be attended by the Swiss theologians at great personal sacrifice and danger. Besides they were entering upon the encounter in the midst of surroundings that would be much more sympathetic to Luther and his followers, than to Zwingli. There it would be possible to gather a crowd of such formidable proportions of the former's adherents that they could stampede the meetings if judgment should go against them. None of these things moved Zwingli, consumed as he was by a passion for union. He even disregarded the decree of the Council of Zurich forbidding him to go beyond the borders of Switzerland, and agreed to appear at the conference. In the face of direst warnings from his anxious friends and horrible dreams which haunted him, he set out upon his journey armed with nothing but a burning desire to glorify God and save the Reformation from unseemly division. Before going to Marburg he had already manifested a desire for peace. He had sought for such a league of concord as would have bound all Europe together for advancing the interests of the kingdom. In this he wished to provide for the fullest freedom of the individual while uniting them together, "by the spiritual

bond of a common faith; of a common *submission to the Gospel,* embraced with a pure mind and carried out in practice; satisfying the understanding and contenting the heart; one in *its aim* of worshiping God; diverse in *its mode* according to the usage and wants of the country, tolerating philosophical as little as dogmatical dictators; repudiating alike the propaganda and Jesuits; a league whose members are not exclusive like Jews, but helpful like Christians." The nineteenth century has seen something of the realization of this splendid dream of the Reformer at Zurich.

This article does not require a complete and detailed history of the Marburg Conference. To a great extent it was an egregious failure. But with such a background of failure the clean-cut figure of Zwingli as a man of peace appears in Alpine proportions. He seconded the efforts of Philip, and rallied all the Swiss Reformers to strenuous efforts in order to win the Wittenbergers. The spirit of Luther was shown in a letter written but a short time before the conference. "For myself I confess that I do not think Zwingli a Christian with all his doctrines for he holds and teaches no part of the Christian faith rightly, and has become seven times worse than when he was a Papist, according to Christ's judgment: 'The last state of that man shall be worse than the first.' I make such a confession that I may be without blame before God and the world, because I have no share in Zwingli's doctrine nor will have to all eternity." There were times when he seemed to have become incapable of confining his expressions within the bounds of reason. He alarmed his friends even when he said with an insane stare: "Cursed be concord; down with it to the bottomless pit." Even Melanchthon seems to have fallen under this power of disunion until his usually sweet spirit deserted him. He wrote to a friend: "Rather would I die than live to see this Zwinglian affair polluting our just cause." The Wittenbergers only yielded to the well-meant efforts of Philip after considerable pressure asserting that these would

be entirely in vain unless the Swiss would yield—a specimen of being open to conviction but really desiring to see the person that could convict. In contrast to all this, but with the spirit of Jesus dying on the cross, or the first martyr bowing beneath the crushing stones, Zwingli went to meet Luther.

The arguments were learned and at times heated. The time was filled up by the Prince urging agreement. But when Luther said that even a partial agreement was impossible unless our opponents accept our views every one perceived that the conference would be of no effect. When it became evident that the meeting was in great danger of ending in complete failure, Zwingli's heart sank within him. Faintness got such hold upon him that he felt something like the cold chill of death stealing over him. While Philip was urging upon the Lutherans concession, Zwingli sat apart from his friends and shed tears in silence. At the final meeting in the Ducal Palace when the Landgrave had ceased any further importunity, Zwingli came forward and said: "Let us confess to the world the points in which we agree and as for the rest let us treat each other as brethren." This expression of charity and brotherly love stirred the heart of Philip again and he besought the Lutherans to comply. Zwingli, his eyes swimming in tears, feeling that the crucial moment had come, approached Luther, holding out his brotherly hand. It is one of the supreme moments of the reformation time, if not of Protestant Christianity. Some of the spectators of this great scene realized with profoundest emotions the significance of the occasion, and watched with a death-like stillness for the denouement of the whole conference. Luther failed. The proffered hand of love was rejected. The olive branch of peace was trampled under foot, as an unholy thing. In the spirit of prophecy he said: "You have a different spirit from ours." Thinking that possibly he had acted in an unchristian manner, he held a hurried consultation with his fellow theologians and added, before the rest of the company had recov-

ered from the wreck of their fond hope: "You do not belong to the communion of the Christian Church; we cannot acknowledge you as Christian brethren." So said in spirit Melanchthon, Brenz, Justus Jonas and the rest. The spirit manifested by Zwingli on that memorable occasion became engrained in the life of the Reformed Church, and has distinguished it on every occasion where the subject of Christian unity has been concerned.

After the first heat of passion had somewhat subsided, the Prince begged them to draw up an expression of those truths on which all were agreed. The preparation of this document was committed to the good offices of Luther. At last he appeared with a document containing fifteen articles, to fourteen of these all were ready to affix their signatures without any compromise of the truth. There remained the necessity for some expression in regard to the Lord's Supper. This Luther drew up in language which seemed to him contrary at every point to his ideas of the Swiss doctrine of the eucharist. To his surprise, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer and Casper Hedio signed it without any controversy. It remained for Calvin to formulate the doctrine of the Reformed Church as to the Lord's Supper. As it is said, without a Stephen no Paul, so we feel safe in saying that without a Zwingli no Calvin. Zwingli's view of this ordinance has not always been set forth by historians of the Reformation in its proper light. In the article signed at Marburg, he admitted that "the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ."

The influence of Zwingli for Christian unity was felt in all the borders of the Protestant Church. There sprang up a line of theologians who sought not only for a union of the different branches of Protestantism, but also of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Church. When Cranmer formulated the doctrines of the English Church and prepared her liturgy which has been her glory, he was surrounded by eminent for-

eign theologians who owed their spirit to Zwingli. Some of these had fled from the disturbed conditions on the continent, and some had come in response to the invitation of the great Archbishop. A'Lasco, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Fagius, Ochino and Tremelius were some of the most distinguished. In June, 1548, when the spirit of unity reached high-water mark in the Church of England, the Archbishop of Hardenberg wrote: "We desire to set before our churches the true theology, and we have decided that we need the presence of learned men, to compare their decisions with ours, so as to do away with doctrinal controversies, and build up a whole body of true doctrine. We have summoned a great many of godly and learned men, some of whom we have already got and expect others soon." Cranmer himself wrote to Calvin: "With your power of observation you cannot but see how much the Church of God is weakened by dissensions and differences of opinion regarding this sacrament of unity. I am anxious about this subject itself, also about the very words and forms of expression." The spirit of Zwingli still goes marching on, and the one end of that golden thread of Christian unity, which runs like a gleam of heavenly sunshine through every page and movement of Reformation history, is held in the charitable hand of Zwingli. None tried harder to show to the world that the disciples of Christ marshalled under the Reformation banner must be one if they were to show that the world ought to believe that the Father had sent the Son for its salvation.

In the course of Reformed Church history another golden glow flashed out upon the turbulent waters. Another Reformed character of heroic proportions filled with the spirit of Christian unity appears providentially in the nick of time. If in the earlier period the Protestant Church had been chastised with whips, it is now being chastised with scorpions. The Palatinate, presided over by a prince of decided pacific intentions becomes a dumping ground for some of the most

turbulent spirits of that turbulent century. Heidelberg becomes a storm center, since all forms of Protestantism were tolerated with the hope that out of such a course would grow a spirit of patience and sympathy, as might produce such a unity as was longed for by some of the most elect spirits. This idea, however, was soon exploded. The Roman Catholic prophecy that Protestantism was anarchistic,, and must end in failure on account of a lack of that adhesiveness necessary to endure the change of dynasties, and the advance of new ideas of civilization seemed about to be fulfilled. The different elements of Protestantism were even stiffer in their opposition to each other than at Marburg. As the divisions increased in number the jealousy grew in rancor. The green-eyed monster had become so ravenous that its motto was " rule or ruin." The scandal reached intolerable proportions, when Hesshus leaped within the chancel rails while Deacon Klebitz was celebrating the Holy Communion, snatched the elements from his hand, and dashed them upon the floor. This proved to Frederick the Third, what had long since been evident to many deeply interested in the welfare of the kingdom, that tolerance to such untamed spirits ceased to be a virtue. Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists had each other by the throats, and had begun a conflict even unto death. The annihilation of one party by the other was much more desirable than a victory over the Roman Catholic Church. It was not to be thought of, for a moment, that one party should become the recognized form of religion in the Palatinate, even though the other should be tolerated.

The spirit of Zwingli had won Melanchthon from the stiff Lutheran position assumed at Marburg. Calvin had become so imbued with the spirit of unity that he assured Cranmer that he would willingly cross ten seas to bring it about. The Swiss theologians had industriously disseminated the doctrines, and remained loyal to the special unionistic teachings of Zwingli. Christian unity was in the air and the feeling

of its necessity had become increasingly intensive ever since the giants had stood face to face, and separated without the kiss of peace or the handshake of an abounding charity.

Frederick was one of the purest, noblest and most pacific princes of that period. When the time came to stand for the truth he was as grand as Luther before the Diet of Worms. When courage and conviction were needed to deal with a condition which threatened to sweep from the stage both Church and State under their Protestant forms, he became a man of iron. When wisdom called from the opening of the gates and from the chief places of concourse in the city he answered with all the humility of Hannah's young son: "Speak Lord for thy servant heareth." He took counsel of all of the Reformation pillars of all phases of evangelical belief. He sought out men of discretion and charity. He felt that there was truth in all these different phases of Church life, but that personal vanity and selfishness had blinded many of the best men, so that one supreme commanding motive of all should be to get hold of columnar truths which had foundation in the word of God, and keep as close to these as possible. The safety of doctrinal expression demanded that it be set forth in terms as nearly scriptural as possible. Before any of the Reformation defenders of the faith , Zwingli had discerned the place of the Scriptures in theological definition. In the first Helvetic Confession (1536) he declared that: "The Canonical, the Word of God, given by the Holy Ghost, and set forth to the world by the Prophets and Apostles, the most perfect and ancient of all philosophy, alone contains perfectly all piety and the whole rule of life." Following Zwingli's ideas Calvin gave such impetus to them that the "supreme authority of Scripture was set forth in all the symbolical books of the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, France, England, The Netherlands, Scotland, etc." I need scarcely remark in passing how closely the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism followed the inspiration of Zwingli, and the counsel so care-

fully given them by Frederick the Third in defining and expressing the doctrines of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The commission given to the men chosen by Frederick at the suggestion of Melanchthon and Calvin and other great Reformers showed the catholic spirit of the Prince. "Their commission was to form a catechism that should suit the wants of the Palatinate. It must represent the Reformed faith, and yet be true at the same time to the general spirit of the Augsburg confession. The catechism must be such a system, as Melanchthon, if living, might join with Calvin to subscribe in testimony of their common faith."

Without giving a hook upon which the higher critics may hang some of their misfits, it has been said that the authors of the catechism, Zacharias Ursinus and Casper Olevianus were inspired. The Reformed Church occupied a mediating position between Calvinism and Lutheranism. The crystallization of this thought in catechetical formula was accomplished by the chosen instruments of Frederick the Third.

It was sent forth to be an olive branch of peace. The extremists viewed it as a child of darkness and would have prevented its use if possible. It is to be congratulated on the enemies it has made. It enjoyed a hearty reception. Soul-weary and tired with the dissensions of Protestantism, it was hailed by the people as a rallying point for Protestantism. It is stated that next to the Bible, the "Imitation of Christ" and Bunyan's immortal allegory, it has been translated into more foreign languages than any book ever originating from the human heart and brain.

It is not too much to assert that there is not a brighter page in the history of Christian unity than the conception, preparation and publishing of the Heidelberg Catechism. Men are weary with the unnecessary divisions of Christ's Church. They are beginning to feel restless at the everlasting demands for trying to make a distinction where there is no difference. They have not reached that point where they are looking for

a common platform on which they may unite. When that time comes, as come it must, when the desire for union must be satisfied, the Reformed Church will present the Magna Charta. Barring the unfortunate appendix to the eightieth question, the Roman Catholic Church might so trim its traditions and brush away its medieval barnacles as to accept it as a formula of fundamental truth, upon which it could unite with the Protestant Church. The Reformed Church standing upon the Heidelberg Catechism, and interpreting it historically, must encourage every effort after Christian unity. This has oftimes proved a weakness because of the lack of that millenial sunshine that will melt some of the icicles frozen upon the Church in these winters of dogmatic idolatry.

Maintaining, as we have done, that there is an organic relation between the efforts for peace made by Zwingli at Marburg subsequent movements towards unity it should find expression in the subsequent history of the Reformed Church. There was a conference held at Cassel A. D. 1661, at which time some Marburg Reformed theologians enlisted the sympathy of some Lutherans of the Calixtus type, to promote a union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. Owing to the violent Synergistic controversy raging at that same moment it failed to command the attention which it deserved.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century the Brandenberg dynasty made unwearied efforts to bring into close fellowship the Reformed and Lutheran communions. To the Reformed court preacher was committed the task of bringing together representatives of the different ecclesiastical organizations. For some reason these worthy efforts of the Reformed people were not heartily seconded and thus became simply way-marks showing the course of the Reformed Church in this matter. They show that it has ever remained loyal to impressions woven into its genius and character as a representative of that unionistic spirit which will ever assert itself till we all come into the unity of the spirit, and unto the measure of the fullness of the stature of men in Christ Jesus.

Whether the union, accomplished by Frederick the Third in 1817, has justified the welcome with which the movement was first hailed or not, one thing is certain, it could never have been effected without the aid of the unionistic spirit in the Reformed Church. The opposition to it which in a measure militated against it arose from the opposite party. The Reformed Church, true to its genius for union, was willing to be swallowed up by the Lutherans, only so that another gaping wound might be healed. This article would not be complete without proving by a shining example that the same coals are still on the altar waiting to be fanned into a lambent flame. When the Reformed Church in America in 1771 severed their connection with the Classis of Amsterdam, the decendants of the Palatines protested against it. Much to their disgust the separation came and they refused to be a party to the division. A continuance of the relation on account of linguistic difficulty, and the lack of a mutual understanding continued until 1793, when the Reformed Church in the United States separated from the mother Church in Holland and established the Synod. Though separated, our branch of the Reformed Church has been diligent in seeking for a renewal of organic relationship with the whole Reformed family of churches. In 1891 there was a strenuous effort made to establish a governing body which should have synodical authority, and thus keep the two Reformed Churches in organic fellowship. Our portion of the Reformed Church shows to good advantage in this effort at reunion. Though in round numbers twice as large in membership and ministry, we were willing to come in on equal representation. This is an invincible proof that the living spirit of Zwingli and of our Fritz still abides in the communion that acknowledges them next to Jesus Christ as leaders.

When other great communions are looking for inspiration to move forward with what seems an impossible though greatly desired task, they may find encouragement in the history of

one of the smallest denominations, but one whose history along the line of Christian unity has been consistent and persistent. Many hail with exaltation that " the centrifugal age of Christianity is closed. The centripetal action has begun " or " that the age of division is over; that of reunion is coming on," but the student of history will realize that there has been no centrifugal age for us—there has been no time when the spirit of division prevailed. From the beginning till now the voice of our denomination has been there must be no strife among us, for we be brethren in Christ. It hailed with exultant joy every struggle toward the realization of that unity for which Christ prayed. It would never admit, that what we have now in Christendom by way of united effort is all that should be expected. It scorns with righteous indignation that scoff that Christian unity is a irridescent dream. It was a Reformed theologian all aglow with the vision divine who imagined the Pope inviting " a fraternal Pan-Christian Council in Jerusalem, where the Mother Church of Christendom held the first council of reconciliation of peace. But," he adds, " whether in Jerusalem or Rome or (as Cardinal Wiseman thought) in Berlin, or (as some Americans think) on the banks of the Mississippi, the war between Rome, Wittenberg, Geneva and Oxford will be fought out to a peaceful end when all the churches shall be thoroughly Christianized and all the creeds of Christendom unified in the creed of Christ." Zwingli and Frederick the Third saw that day, and rejoiced to see it, and were glad. The Church which they inspired with the sense and value of Christian unity would as soon give up the hope of a millennium as the hope of a coming time when the watchman shall lift up the voice together, not only to say to the weary one: Thy God reigneth; but with the voice together shall they sing, for they shall see eye to eye when Jehovah is returning to Zion.

HAGERSTOWN, PA.

IX.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

Chaos or Cosmos?

Russia is probably the the most wonderful country in the world, certainly the most wonderful country in Europe. For centuries there has been going on a process of consolidation and growth resulting in the establishment of the present empire which has hitherto been regarded as one of the great powers of the world, perhaps the most formidable, in the long run, of all the nations of Europe. This process, beginning, we may say, with Peter the Great, may be compared to the slow emergence of a continent out of the depths of the ocean and the gradual shaping of the land surface by geological upheavals and changes of level until a rich and fertile expanse of country is produced. The extension and growth of Russia have been, if comparatively slow, persistent and steady, resulting in accretions to the west, absorption of one country after another toward the east and southeast. A few years ago it seemed as though there were no power to check or roll back this onward movement any more than there is a power to check the progress of a glacier down the mountain side. It must be confessed, too, that administrative ability of a high order not only guided this progress, but also followed up every advantage gained so that the subdued countries, whether in the wilds of Siberia, the mountain regions of Armenia, or the plains of Kurdistan were joined as by indissoluble bonds to the central domain of the vast empire. It is well known how the advance of Russia in the way indicated inspired terror in the east, and made England tremble for the safety of her Indian empire in the south. Undoubtedly, this movement would long ere this have overwhelmed the prin-

cipalities of the Danube and swallowed up the Turkish empire, if the jealousy of the other powers of Europe had not sufficed to bring about a coalition and concert of action to prevent such a result.

The extension of the Russian empire and its growth in physical strength are not the only evidence which testifies to the virile power of the nation. In the field of art, in painting, in sculpture and in architecture she has been by no means barren. In literature names like Turgenieff and Tolstoi are household words, and in science her sons have had no mean place among the great men and leaders in the scientific progress of the day. We need only mention Struve in astronomy (although born in Germany) and Mendeléeff and Niewenglowski in chemistry. In fact, the universities, the laboratories, and the observatories of Russia have held high rank in the learned world.

It is not strange, therefore, that the eyes of the world have been upon Russia and that until the victorious career of the empire was checked by the little island kingdom of Japan, bringing about the present striking crisis in the affairs of the country, men wondered and perhaps feared what the result of a real awakening of the Russian people might mean. However, notwithstanding all that has been said, when we look beneath the surface and inquire into the actual condition of the people we find that the country has, on the whole, been asleep or walking as in a dream. In the first place, the absolute government, the exercise of entire control over every department of Russian life nominally by the Czar, but actually by the bureaucracy, is an anomaly in the age in which we live. It is possible only where the people are steeped in ignorance and superstition and have no consciousness either of their rights or their power. Russia is regarded as a civilized country. It may be freely granted that there are people of the highest culture and large attainments in art, science, and literature; but there is probably no country in Europe where

the mass of the population is as ignorant, besotted and superstitious as in this country. The poorer classes have no social development, no political rights, and no religious culture except such as is afforded by the ignorant and corrupt hierarchy of the Greek Church. The very fact that Russia has still been using the old style in its calendar, notwithstanding the astronomical knowledge of the present day, is evidence of the distance at which her people stand from the progressive life of our age.

The facts and conditions thus briefly described must be borne in mind if an adequate judgment is to be framed of the crisis in the present affairs of Russia before which the world stands aghast. No matter what the conditions may be in any country, the light of the modern age, its freedom and progress, is bound to penetrate into the darkest and densest mass. The desire for freedom pervades the educated people and it is gradually laying hold of the mass of the population. People who are on the verge of starvation, who are misgoverned and oppressed, plundered and punished without redress in the courts, even though ignorant and superstitious, seek for something better. But these strivings after freedom are met with repression, and thus there is a conflict between the absolute power of the autocracy and the sullen but determinate subjects throughout the empire. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be discontent and efforts at revolution, that there should be violent outbreaks among the people, revolt among the soldiers and sailors, and a condition of unrest and apprehension everywhere. The striving after freedom in individuals and communities can be guided and directed but not thwarted and repressed. And yet this is attempted, because the rulers fear the loss of absolute power; and, accordingly, there is a growing tension between rulers and subjects—a condition of society which forms a hot-bed for the growth of anarchy and nihilism.

Whilst it is true that the common people according to the

traditions of the past have had, and to some extent still have, implicit faith in "the little father," as they affectionately call the Czar (a faith that has been rudely shaken, however, by repeated acts of the emperor, such as the refusal to see the representatives of the people at Tsarkoe Selo and the dissolution of the Duma), in better informed circles the evils from which the people suffer have been attributed to the tyranny of the government. Thus a social philosophy has been nurtured which looks upon government itself as an evil. Anarchistic philosophers say that man is by nature good, gentle, kind and loving, and if he is only let alone, he will live in peace and enjoy prosperity. Therefore, government ought to be abolished and rulers, who are tyrants, ought to be put out of the way by assassination or by any other method possible. Out of this has grown the régime of the bullet and the dynamite bomb, the carnival of assassination so largely prevalent at the present time. When to this is joined the fanaticism of the Greek Church and the bigotry of race hatred as these come to view in the persecution and massacre of the Jews, the result is a social condition that beggars description.

As long as the government could depend upon the army and the navy it felt strong enough to repress every social movement toward reform and greater freedom. The disastrous failure in the conflict with Japan, however, brought on a crisis in the affairs of the country so far-reaching that the old order of things could no longer be maintained. The terrible outbreaks in different parts of the empire, the mutiny of the sailors at Sevastopol, and the growing reluctance of even the Cossacks to shoot and bayonet unarmed men and women, or to turn upon their comrades in arms, convinced the Czar at last that concessions must be made and reforms instituted if the integrity of the empire was to be maintained. He accordingly promulgated a program of reform, promising relief to the peasants, an improvement in the administration by the promulgation of a "fundamental law," and an approach to parlia-

mentary government in the constitution of a Duma or representative body to be convened in due course of time.

Much was hoped from the step thus taken in the direction of constitutional government. It promised the much-needed reforms, and held out to the people the prospect of a real participation in the government of the country by putting an end to arbitrary rule and linking the people and the rulers together by the bonds of a common and intelligent interest in the welfare of the country. Four things were especially demanded by the people, and it was expected that these would be speedily obtained under the new *régime.* These were: (1) Government by a responsible ministry. (2) The expropriation of land (either crown lands, or lands held by the church, or the nobility), for the use of the peasants, to be gradually paid for in course of time. (3) Amnesty to political prisoners. (4) The abolition of the death penalty. Over against these demands stood the reactionaries, the grand dukes, nobles of the royal family, and the highest dignitaries of the Greek Church. If the Czar had been a man of determination and force, or if he had been blessed with a leader who possessed his confidence and the confidence of the people, of sufficient strength to withstand the machinations of the beaurocracy and magnetism enough to control the Duma, order might have come out of the confused movement and the hopes and wishes of the people, and probably of the Czar also, might have been realized. But M. Witte, the strongest man in sight, found himself unequal to the task, and the Czar vacillating and helpless, threw himself into the arms of the reactionaries by calling Goremykin to the premiership and causing a widening breach with the Duma through the acts of violence and repression which followed.

The Duma itself, as the first representative body, was by no means a model legislative assembly. It lacked harmony and cohesion, and whilst it had many men in it of great ability, it had no conspicuous leaders, strong enough to guide it to-

wards the desired goal. Mr. Petrunkévitch divides the members into the following parties: (1) The Moderates, led by Count Heyden and others, consisting of the conservative nobility, who, however, see the danger of impending revolution, and favor some kind of reform. (2) The Constitutional Democrats, representing the liberal nobility, who favor a constitutional monarchy and thorough-going reform. (3) The Social Democrats, representing the labor party. (4) The Social Revolutionists, ready to resort to violence to bring about a socialistic *régime*. Finally (5) the peasants themselves. If these parties had been consistently led by strong men with definite aims and purposes, it might have been possible to agree in the Duma upon a line of action which would have commanded the assent of the nation to an extent which would have compelled the acceptance of the proposed reforms by the Czar. But the Constitutional Democrats, instead of winning and crystallizing the moderate elements, strove to gain sufficient power by coquetting with the more radical forces, and thus opened the way for heated discussion and radical propositions which proved a means of information indeed to the country, but also a source of revolutionary sentiment leading to greater discontent and violent demonstrations among the masses. These were met in turn by the harsh repressive measures of Goremykin, so that the Duma demanded his dismissal as premier by the emperor. Thus the friction between the beaurocracy and the Duma grew from day to day, until the Czar dissolved the Duma and called for a new election. At the same time he dismissed Goremykin and appointed in his place M. Stolypin, whose program avowedly is "strong-handed reform," which means the maintenance of the power of the Czar, the repression of violence, and a policy of reform which includes the compulsory sale of the great landed estates and the sale of lands to the peasants on easy terms. The Constitutional Democrats will be satisfied with nothing less than a constitutional monarchy and a responsible

ministry, while the more radical elements seek by measures of violence the entire overthrow and abolition of the existing government. The whole country is, therefore, a seething caldron of discontent, strife, and violence, and it is absolutely impossible to tell what the outcome will be.

It is not likely that repression will gain its end. Revolutions never go backward. The chicken once hatched cannot be forced back into the egg. Monsters like Plehve and Trepoff may slay their thousands and, for a time, inspire awe by the horrors of which they are the authors, but they cannot pacify the country. The former was assassinated, the latter has just died a natural death; but if they succeed in protecting the life of their royal master, they only deepen the resentment of the people. Measures like the wholesale massacre at Siedlce, where, because a bomb was thrown by one person, the soldiers turned the machine guns upon the unoffending populace and massacred men, women, and children in cold blood, send a thrill of horror throughout the civilized world, alienate the sympathy of right-minded people, and swell the tide of popular wrath, until like the dammed up mountain stream, it carries everything before it. No, repression cannot save the country.

If repression cannot restore order and peace, then there are only two alternatives. Either there must be a gradual change under a strong leader—a change that will enlist popular sympathy and bring about the desired reforms in the church, in social relations, and in government; or else there will be a revolution which sweeps everything before it, drenches the nation in blood, wipes out the ruling dynasty, and resolves human society into a sort of primeval chaos which will swallow up the fruits of a thousand years' labor, and from which, perhaps, a new Russia will slowly and painfully emerge, as a new France emerged after the horrors of the French revolution. The difficulty which the first alternative has to encounter is that the social tension has by long repression become so great that the least yielding to pressure opens the way for movements

so strong as to overleap existing barriers, and thus by widening the breach threaten the safety of the whole. Besides, there is a mass of difficult material to deal with, as the South had to deal with the freed slaves during and after the period of reconstruction after our civil war. If Alexander II., when he gave the serfs their freedom, had given them land and education, and made them intelligent and self-respecting members of the empire, he would have conferred the greater boon upon his country. There is no antidote for social discontent and anarchism like the holding of land and prosperous industry. But that opportunity is gone. Is it too late?

The great lesson taught by poor, suffering Russia, an important lesson, taught most impressively, is the fundamental lesson of all ethical development in the individual or in the community, in Church or State, that while authority is important and development begins with obedience, *authority is in order to freedom, and, in the end, obedience must be intelligent and proceed from love.* It is a great thing for a ruler to have the affection and confidence of his people. But the people cannot remain children all their lives, and they need to have part in the administration of affairs; they must acquire an insight into the grounds of law, and an intelligent apprehension of the principles of government. To this end they need training, and as their intelligence grows, a larger measure of freedom. Neither Czar, nor Kaiser, nor Pontiff, can expect, in the long run, to exact obedience, unless room is made for freedom of thought and action in proportion to the degree of intellectual and moral development of their subjects. Perhaps the tendency of the modern age is to lay too little stress on authority. But authority can be maintained only where it stands upon a rational ground, and leads to an obedience that is intelligent and free.

JOHN S. STAHR.

Reflections on the Trial of Dr. Crapsey.

The charges declare that Dr. Crapsey denies the following doctrines:

"1. The doctrine that our Lord Jesus Christ is God, the Savior of the world, as contained and enunciated in the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, and as set forth, indicated and declared in the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

"2. The doctrine that our Lord Jesus Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, as contained and enunciated, etc.

"3. The doctrine of the virgin birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, as contained and enunciated, etc.

"4. The doctrine of the resurrection of our blessed Lord and Savior, as contained and enunciated, etc.

"5. The doctrine of the blessed Trinity, as contained and enunciated, etc."

According to the presentment he is in error in his teaching on the deity of Jesus, the miraculous conception, the virgin birth, the resurrection of Christ, and the Trinity. A more formidable series of errors touching the fundamentals of the Christian system could not well be set forth.

Dr. Crapsey, however, enters explicit denials of these charges and claims that while he does not hold the *litera scripta* of the creeds, he is true to the substance of the doctrines specified. (1) He professes to accept the doctrine of the incarnation, but holds that Joseph was the natural father of Christ. Here he clearly deviates from the accepted view of the church, but he regards himself within the scope of the liberty granted him by his church when he affirms the contrary view. (2) He professes to accept the doctrine of the Trinity, but as he understands it, a Sabellian conception which includes a trinity of character rather than of persons. We quote his own language in *The Churchman:* "I have merely preached the unfolding of the One in three, rather than the addition of two to that One in the composition of that Trinity." (3) On

the resurrection he says: "When I say that on the third day he rose again from the dead, I do not necessarily imply that the body in which he had lived was dematerialized, so that he assumed it and walked through doors. But I do believe that he rose again and revealed his spiritual body to the keen spiritual vision of his disciples, and I believe that in the strength of that resurrection they went forward to conquer the world."

In what respect does Dr. Crapsey differ from the teaching of his church or of the churches generally? He accepts the incarnation, but he does not consider the miraculous conception and the virgin birth as indispensable conditions for an incarnation. The church, however, at least since the third century, has related his conception and birth on the one hand and the incarnation on the other as cause and effect. Without the former the latter could not be possible. To deny the former is to renounce the latter. Dr. Crapsey agrees with his church on the *fact* of the incarnation but differs from it on the way in which the fact was realized. He evidently reaches the conviction that in Jesus dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily by another process than that followed by the churches in their symbols. He does not reject the doctrine of the Trinity, but differs from his church in his interpretation of it. Again, he holds the fact but becomes heretical when he explains it. He is very clear in the statement of his views on the resurrection. He denies a revival or a dematerialization of the corpse, but affirms the rising of a spiritual body in which Christ revealed himself to his disciples. His church, however, requires belief in a resurrection of the carnal body, of flesh and blood glorified or spiritualized. The difference seems to be rather on the method by which the fact was realized than on the fact itself. Dr. Crapsey may, therefore, with a conscience void of offense, say, "I believe in the incarnation, in the Trinity, and in the resurrection, but I ask the privilege of interpreting these facts in my own way."

It is not an easy matter to determine whether Dr. Crapsey is right or wrong. It is comparatively easy, however, to decide whether he agrees with or differs from the standards of the church. According to Judge Stiness the latter question was the only one at issue before the court of inquiry. The members of the court were not to decide whether the teaching of Dr. Crapsey was true or false, but whether it was what the church required him to teach. If that was the purpose of the trial, the verdict could only have been what it is, viz.: "That the respondent should be suspended from exercising the functions of the Church until such time as he shall satisfy the ecclesiastical authorities of the diocese that his belief and teaching conform to the doctrines of the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed as this Church hath received the same." A minority report was filed by Dr. Dunham in which we find the following words: "From Dr. Crapsey's own statements and the evidence submitted for his defense, his error consists rather in presuming to define what God has not been pleased to reveal, and to interpret those doctrines in a manner not generally received by the Church, rather than in a denial and rejection of their truth and authority."

The question arises whether the church should be guided by the principle of Judge Stiness in its treatment of errorists or not. It is clear, indeed, as most Protestant churches are now constituted, that that is the only way by which heretics can be tried. The point at issue is not whether the doctrines of the accused person are right or wrong, but whether they conform to the symbols of the church. When one reflects for a moment upon this policy it becomes all the more startling. It makes short work of heresy, but it is in danger of shutting out at the same time the new light that breaks from the Word into the consciousness of the church. It presupposes the unchangeableness or infallibility of the church in its confessions. Finality has presumably been reached in the definition of doctrines. Argument and reason are superseded. Judg-

ment and condemnation alone are required. The test of the truth or falsehood of a doctrine is not the bible interpreted by the Christian reason and conscience, but a formula of a particular age which has been invested with infallible authority. It is, therefore, no longer necessary to test the doctrines by the scriptures and Christian experience and scholarship, which was one of the most precious privileges of original Protestantism. According to the church historian Socrates, this mode of procedure dates back to the year 383. The Emperor Theodosius, desiring to heal the schisms in the church, called a conference of the bishops, and conferred with Nectarius, the Bishop of Constantinople, to advise with him on the best method of procedure. The emperor thought that a fair discussion of the questions by all parties concerned was the best way for detecting error and removing the causes of trouble. But Nectarius, after counseling with his fellow bishops, recommended that it were better to fall back upon the testimony of the ancients instead of entering into logical debates. If the sects differ from the "ancients" let them be anathematized; if they agree with them let them be restored. Nectarius' advice has become the policy not only of Romanism but of Protestantism. The emperor's proposal of a fair discussion was forgotten, and has only been revived in the history of the church by the heretics when they plead for a hearing.

The presumptions are doubtless against Dr. Crapsey. He runs counter to the traditions of centuries held by most devout men of the church. His saying so does not make it so. He and all those who agree with him ought to reach their conclusions only after the most sincere and prayerful investigations. The church cannot permit such doctrines to be proclaimed with impunity. Built as it is upon a traditional system of orthodoxy, it would stultify itself and commit suicide, if it did not purge itself of the leaven of heterodoxy. It is the old conflict over again—representatives of two different view-

points and tendencies standing face to face, Theodosius and Nectarius, Luther and Leo X., free discussion and tradition, the religion of the spirit and the religions of authority.

We may see how close the attitude of the church toward Dr. Crapsey is to Romanism, when we consider Luther's trial at Worms. He was given the choice of recanting his errors or of excommunication. He outlined another method in his response to Dr. Eck, the prosecuting attorney: "Unless I am refuted or convicted by testimonies of the scriptures or by clear arguments (since I believe neither the Pope nor the councils alone; it being evident that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am conquered by the holy scriptures quoted by me, and my conscience is bound by the word of God; I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is unsafe and dangerous to do anything against the word of God." He asked for testimonies of scriptures, clear argument, and the right of conscience. But his requests were met with contempt and his conscience was to be silenced by anathemas.

We believe Protestantism has conserved the cardinal doctrines of Luther, but has it accepted his declaration at Worms? What would happen if some young Luther, whether right or wrong, should arise in a Lutheran, Reformed, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian judicatory and say: "Unless I am refuted and convicted by testimonies of the scriptures or by clear arguments (since I believe neither the catechism nor the creeds; it being evident that they have erred and contradicted themselves), I am conquered by the holy scriptures quoted by me, and my conscience is bound by the word of God, I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is unsafe and dangerous to do anything against the conscience." If such a one held doctrines so directly contrary to the churches named above as Luther's were to Rome, little regard, we fear, would be paid to scriptures, clear arguments, and his conscience. His deposition from office would be requested without further

proceedings and he would be coldly informed to find another church in which his teachings are accepted. Rome said so once to its best young men. They were cast off, and Rome has declined ever since.

It is not our purpose to compare Dr. Crapsey to Luther, but to show that the way in which both were tried and found guilty is essentially the same. It is not the Protestant but the Roman method of suppressing error. What then should the church do under such circumstances? Ought it not to protect itself against heresy? We answer unhesitatingly, yes. But it ought at the same time to preserve an open mind for truth from whatever source it may come. The doctrine of infallibility in all its forms is a great hindrance to the truth in Christ Jesus. The teachings of Dr. Crapsey are said to be shared by many of his fellow clergymen. Similar views are expressed by leading men in the churches of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. Even the judicatory which tried him was divided, as appears in the minority report. The men holding these doctrines are reputed to be followers of Jesus, morally blameless, zealous in every good work, and devout scholars. Let it be granted that they are wrong in their theories, ought not the church to tolerate them until by conservative Christian scholarship they may be convinced that they are in error? Let them be met not by judicial action nor by appeals to infallible formulas, but by arguments from the scriptures, reason, and conscience. When a church can no longer tolerate a Briggs, a Smith, a McGiffert, a Gilbert, against not one of whom a charge of unchristian conduct has been brought, is it not time that the *church* pause to consider whether it does not need revision and reconstruction? After all, its dogmatic definitions may not be final. While the spiritual and moral influences which go forth from these heretics are confessedly Christ-like, it would not be jeopardizing the kingdom of God on earth if the Christian churches in all lands would enjoin liberals and conservatives

to unite in fraternal conferences, arguments, and discussions to seek the truth in love. There was a time when right living was the test of discipleship (Matt. 7:20). Now conduct is secondary, and all stress is laid on right thinking. For a man to claim perfect morality would be fanaticism, but for him to deny that he is perfect in his thinking, orthodox, is heresy.

We do not contend that Dr. Crapsey is either right or wrong. That question ought not to be hastily decided in the light of present-day scholarship. To declare him right by a wave of the hand is as dangerous as to declare him wrong by a judicial action. But we claim that the church ought so to change its constitution that men of unquestioned Christian character, who differ from it in the interpretation of its doctrinal standards, could be consistently continued in its service. An ecclesiastical court is not in a position to determine the truth or error of the doctrines which were at issue in Dr. Crapsey's trial. These are questions which can only be settled by expert Christian scholarship and by the normal Christian consciousness. In the meantime let the errors be considered as tares sown in the field. Let them grow until the harvest comes and God separates the wheat from the tares. Let the church practice the tolerance of Jesus to whom the disciples complained of teachers who were not working with them. John said: "We saw one casting out devils in thy name and we forbade him because he followeth not us." But Jesus said: "Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you." The standard by which the Master tried men and their doctrines was the power to cast out devils. While they are doing the *work* of Jesus they will in due time come into closer agreement in their *thinking* about Jesus.

When shall we think aright on the nature of the Godhead, the person of Jesus, and the significance of the particular acts of his life? When we shall be like him, we shall see him as he is (I. John 3:2). Our knowledge of him is commensurate

with our spiritual likeness to him. It is a serious inversion of the scriptural theory of knowledge when we demand of the Christian or the Christian officer a final and infallible knowledge of the being of the Godhead, and at the same time acknowledge him to be a mere babe in Christ in spiritual attainments. How can a man, who confesses every Sunday that he has "grievously sinned against Thee, in thought, word and in deed," profess to have absolute and final knowledge of the things of God such as is implied in the charges against Dr. Crapsey? Moral imperfection and intellectual perfection in an individual are not in harmony with the teachings of the New Testament nor with the laws of the human mind. You may believe in Greek Fathers and in ecumenical councils, and accept their intepretation of Christianity as final, but the Reformers taught that popes and councils have erred and Protestants are not bound by their decisions. Faith in Jesus as he is set forth in the scriptures is an altogether different thing from faith in Jesus as defined in the Nicene Creed. Faith in the Father who abides in Jesus is different from faith in a theory of conception and birth; faith in the risen and ever-present Lord is different from faith in a mode of the resurrection of the body. The one kind of faith is begotten by the spirit of Jesus through his word in the heart of babes. The other kind of faith is demanded by Christian theologians, whether it be the result of personal conviction or not. In eternity, ages hence, we expect Christians to become orthodox; but now we know in part and we prophesy in part: when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away. In the meantime we count not ourselves to have apprehended, but one thing we do, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, we press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. We shall continue to trust Jesus, to hope in Jesus, and to love Jesus. Thus while we are on the way with him, mysteries may be solved, the infinite

and eternal nature of God may become as transparent to us as to the Fathers, and we shall accept their definitions not only because they are a sacred tradition, but because they have been verified by our reason and conscience. Then, indeed, they have become spirit and life in us and "we believe, not because of thy speaking: for we have heard for ourselves." The church, accordingly, should be the organization in which men, with mutual confidence in one another, are free to seek truth and righteousness. They only are to be excluded from its fellowship who hold down the truth in unrighteousness. They are the leaven of malice and wickedness which contaminates the members. But the man whose honesty of inquiry is proven by the purity of his life and the loyalty of his devotion to Jesus may safely be kept in the church without weakening its inner life or its influence in the world.

George W. Richards.

X.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

EXPOSITIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D., Litt.D. A Complete Commentary on the Bible in Thirty Volumes, to be published in Annual Series of Six Volumes. First Series, Six Volumes, Comprising: The Book of Genesis, The Prophecies of Isaiah (Chapters 49–66), The Prophecies of Jeremiah, The Gospel of St. Matthew (three volumes). New York, 3 and 5 W. 18th St., A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price per set of six volumes, $7.50 net.

A commentary on the Bible, to be completed in thirty volumes by one man, seems an almost presumptuous undertaking. Few men could venture on the performance of such a task and still maintain the respect of preachers and scholars. Dr. Maclaren, however, in his ministry of more than fifty years has so won, by his expository discourses and writings, the attention of the Christian world that the publication of his expositions covering the whole Bible will be cordially welcomed. Marcus Dods says of him: "He is one of those exceptional men who can afford to print all they utter." For years he has been generally recognized as the prince of expositors. The material for these volumes has not been prepared in a short time at a publisher's order; it is the fruit of his life-long labors. He has put at the disposal of the editor, the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, editor of "The Expositor's Bible," the whole series of manuscripts prepared by him for the pulpit during his ministry. In addition, many hundreds of expositions published in periodicals and not reprinted have been drawn upon; but the greater part appears for the first time in book form, and every page has been submitted to the careful revision of Dr. Maclaren, which in many cases amounted to virtual rewriting.

The plan of presenting the material is the same in each volume. The table of contents for the book of Genesis contains the topics of fifty-one expositions, each averaging about five pages. Only a few chapters are omitted, while on the more important chapters several expositions are given. The topic is always incisively and suggestively stated, as for example, The Vision of Creation (Gen. I: 26–II: 3), How Sin Came In (Gen. III: 1–15), What Crouches at the Door (Gen. IV: 7, Rev. V.), etc. The verses, which are explained, are printed at the beginning of each section. The heads or divisions, under which the discussion is conducted, are clearly stated and expounded in order. This is the mode of procedure in all the volumes of the series.

The method is different from that of the Expositor's Bible, or the Preacher's Bible, or any homiletical commentary we have yet examined. The work bears evidence of exhaustive exegesis, of painstaking care to cast the biblical meaning into a new and original mold of expression, and of a masterly application of scriptural principles to the conditions of modern life. On every page one finds the word of God with the stamp of the personality of the great preacher, teacher, and scholar upon it. His literary style is rarely equalled in works of this kind. It is enlivened by imagination, keen and captivating in its epigrams and antitheses, warm and inspiring in its fervor and force. Some one has said: "He has the eye of a hawk and the heart of a saint."

The mechanical structure of the volumes is most commendable. The binding is red buckram cloth, the printing is in special type of unique and beautiful face, and the paper is specially imported English feather-weight. The volumes will not be sold separately but in series of six at the price stated above.

We are slow to recommend books of the homiletic kind to the ministry. We have not received much benefit from them and believe that they too often are turned into a crutch rather than into a guide. Yet the use we have made of these volumes in the preparation of Sunday-school lessons and sermons has convinced us that they can be made a valuable aid to the preacher and the teacher. They will be read with a great deal of satisfaction by laymen who seek sound, practical, and inspiring expositions of the books of the Scriptures. The fact that they follow chapter after chapter, almost verse after verse, gives the work a certain unity which makes it especially desirable for consecutive reading. The work is suitable, therefore, for the pastor's study, the Sunday-school and public library, and the library in the home.

George W. Richards.

Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation. By Albert Frederick Pollard, M.A., Professor of Constitutional History, University College, London. Pages xv + 399. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price $1.35 net.

Cranmer has been called the most mysterious figure of the English Reformation. He was born of humble parentage; he died having been "the first Protestant archbishop of the kingdom, and the greatest instrument, under God, of the happy Reformation of this Church of England." He lived in troublous times and the ambiguities which obscured his career arose not from the complexity of his mind but from the contrasts and contradictions of the age in which he lived. He was scholarly, courteous, peace-loving, patriotic, and conscientious. His friends

spoke of his "incredible sweetness of manners"; his enemies commended his courtesy. His forgiving disposition became a proverb. "Do my Lord of Canterbury a shrewd (*i. e.*, an evil) turn," writes Shakespeare, "and he is your friend for ever." Probably he was the only man who could command Henry VIII.'s absolute confidence because of the contrast in their characters. His sensitive disposition and his earnest desire to do that which was beneficial to the realm doubtless betrayed him into a series of recantations at the close of his life, which he so heroically retracted in the hour of his death.

History has passed diverse judgments on the great Archbishop. He has been roundly abused and vigorously defended. The author of this volume endeavors to present a calm and yet favorable account of the Reformer. He does not try to excuse him for his faults but to explain them in the light of the circumstances of the age. The political and religious atmosphere are supposed to account for many of the apparently irreconcilable acts of the man. "A failure to realize this unfamiliar atmosphere vitiates most of the estimates of Cranmer's career and character, and notably those of the Whig school represented by Hallam and Macaulay."

When one reads the graphic account of Cranmer's part in the reform movements under King Henry VIII., his progressive conservatism under Edward VI., his patient perseverance under the Catholic reaction of Mary, the conviction grows on the reader that England was in need of such a man at that time. Yet there were so many currents and counter currents in Church and State that both from a partisan view-point of the sixteenth century and from a present-day standpoint, he may be severely condemned. We must remember, however, that he was himself a seeker after truth. The full-grown Protestantism which we now enjoy was then only in the process of development. Its leaders naturally faltered at times in proportion as they were sincere and scrupulous. "The fact that Cranmer's work has stood the test of time almost unchanged is astonishing evidence of the fidelity with which he reflected the deepest feelings of the English people." The greatest work of his genius is the Prayer Book which is repeated by millions of men and women to this day.

The author has succeeded admirably in weaving the facts and events of the English Reformation to the time of Mary around its central figure. The political, religious, and moral questions which were involved in the movement are clearly presented. The relation between English and Continental reformers is, also, set forth. There were continuous correspondence and close fellowship between Protestant leaders in western Europe. They coun-

selled with one another and were then still willing to learn from one another. Cranmer's superior scholarship, his changes of view on the sacraments, his preparation of the Prayer Book, his last days and martyrdom are described with the precision, critical acumen, and vivacity of one who is master of his subject.

The volume is one of the series of the Heroes of the Reformation. It contains twenty-one illustrations of the leading characters of the period and a copious index. It will serve as an excellent introduction to the study of the English Reformation, and will help the ripe scholar to a better understanding of the various factors which entered into the making of a great personality and reformer.

George W. Richards.

Jesus and the Prophets. An Historical, Exegetical and Interpretative Discussion of the Use of Old Testament Prophecy by Jesus and of His Attitude towards it. By Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D. (Yale), Minister of the Maplewood Congregational Church of Walden, Massachusetts. With an Introduction by Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D., D.D., Dean of the Divinity School of Yale University. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price $1.50 net.

The use which Jesus made of Old Testament prophecy and His attitude towards it, are no doubt among the important problems confronting the student of the New Testament. In the Old Testament God spake "in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners"; in the New Testament God speaks to us "in his Son," who is "the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance." It is the same God who speaks to us in both revelations: but in the one case the revelation is in part, suited to particular needs and circumstances; in the other it is given in absolute, universal and final form, suited to all times and applicable to all conditions and circumstances. Jesus himself acknowledged the validity and value of the Old Testament. He not only expounded its teaching, but quoted it as authoritative, and based his teaching upon it.

Now, the important question for the New Testament student is, How did Jesus conceive the authority of the prophets? This is the problem with which the book before us deals. The author states the problem thus: "There are two ways of looking at prophecy. One is to consider it as, primarily, prediction, and secondarily, preaching. Another way is to reverse this order. The conception of prophecy itself will determine the idea of its fulfilment. If prophecy is primarily the forecasting of special concrete events then its fulfilment is something literal and detailed. If, on the other hand, prophecy is primarily truth, then its fulfilment will mean something more than that of the letter.

"Which of these ways did Jesus regard as of supreme importance? Was he concerned with prophecy as prediction? Or was he concerned with prophecy as truth? Did he, first of all, conceive of the prophetic mission as the revelation of the thoughts and will of God: or was his first interest in it a detailed prognostication of things which had relative moral insignificance? With regard to Messianic prophecy: Was this to him the forecasting of Israel's future as an ideal for the race, which ideal was realized in the Gospel? Or was he concerned with Messianic prophecy as a series of definite descriptions with which he was to correspond in his earthly life?"

Our author rightly assumes that Jesus looked upon the prophecies of the Old Testament, not primarily as prediction, but as the revelation of the thoughts and will of God. He sets this threefold task for himself: (1) "To set forth Jesus' use of prophecy; (2) To indicate his attitude towards it and the standard by which he valued it; (3) In the light of this, to show what its fulfilment signified with him, and how he regarded himself as the 'fulfiller' of prophecy." And in the accomplishment of this task, the author takes up for detailed study the several quotations which Jesus is reported to have made from the prophets. He discusses first the seven quotations found in all the synoptists; then he takes up two found in Matthew and Mark; then one found in Mark alone; then those which are common to Matthew and Luke; then those found only in Matthew, in Luke, and in John. This detailed discussion is followed by a study of Jesus' use of prophetic phrases, terms, figures and language, and of some of his allusions to the prophets and to prophecy.

We endorse the following estimate of the book, given in the introduction by Professor Sanders: "There is a real reward in store for him who patiently studies the methods of Jesus in interpretation as revealed in his use of the Old Testament. This volume skilfully exhibits these methods without sacrificing, as so many of its predecessors have done, the religious value of the implied judgments. It brings before us on a basis of exact and adequate scholarship the secret of the vigorous spirituality and the unfailing enthusiasm of the Jesus of history. It will send the student with fresh eagerness to the prophetic writings which the Lord considered as an indispensable factor in his own religious growth, whose testimony to himself he accepted as direct and adequate."

Wm. C. Schaeffer.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PENTATEUCH. By Randolph H. McKirn, D.D., L.L.D. New York, Longmans, Green and Co. Price $1.00.

A book of 136 pages, well printed, with full table of contents, and a "Fore-word" by Dean Henry Mace, D.D., to whom the book is dedicated. The book consists of three lectures delivered at the Virginia Theological Seminary, with a copious introduction. It is an examination of the results of higher criticism, and is especially directed against the Welhausen theory, as represented by Welhausen and his disciples.

The author lays a good foundation by making his appeal "to the forum of opinion over which common sense presides." In doing this he reminds the reader that both Welhausen and Robertson Smith laid their cause before the same court, and declared their argument "to be within the scope of any one who reads the English Bible carefully, and is able to think clearly."

He disclaims at the outset to be an orientalist, a Hebraist, an archæologist, or an expert in literary analysis. This, however, is no bar to his sitting in judgment, as one of the jury, upon the arguments of the expert, which he does to the satisfaction of the reader. He never trips himself by the use of fact or argument beyond the limits which he has set himself. While the book calls for careful reading, one who is willing to think and examine is able to follow his argument intelligently, and such readers must be impressed by the candor, fairness and ability with which it is presented.

The disagreement of the critics, the uncertain ground we should have to stand upon if left only to their guidance, and the intolerant spirit of negative critics are presented with great force. In answer to the cry of "traditionalism," and dependence upon authority, he shows that the unlearned reader who accepts the claims of the critics is dependent upon their authority; an authority which is marked by disagreement, and by positive and confident assertions which have been disproved. Examples of such assertion which later discovery has shown to be false are given. He presents the real issue to be, not, how do the Old Testament writings come to us, nor, have they been compiled at a later age than when first given, but, are they trustworthy?

The author has nothing to say against free investigation of the Bible. He rather welcomes such investigation. He claims, however, that the believing critic ought not to lay aside his prepossession in favor of the Bible, nor the favorable attitude of his mind towards it. Such an attitude is no bar to free investigation but may guard him against admitting on sight statements against its trustworthiness, and the claims of negative critics. The author is undoubtedly right. We have long felt that a

mistaken frankness may concede more than is fair, as readily as a stubborn prejudice may withhold what is fair. When men say, let us approach the examination of the Bible with no bias for or against it, let us lay aside all our prepossession in its favor, it sounds much as if we were asked to pass judgment upon our mother, with forgetfulness of what we owe to her love and care.

The author of this book is Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C., and President of the Lower House of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. We commend it to the readers of the REVIEW, and are sure that they will be charmed with the courteous, Christian spirit pervading the book, as well as with the ability of the writer.

ELLIS N. KREMER.

ORIENTALISCHE STUDIEN. Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März, 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern und in ihrem Auftrag herausgegeben von Carl Bezold. Mit dem Bildnis Th. Nöldeke's, einer Tafel und Zwölf Abbildungen. Zwei Bände. LIV u. 1187 Seiten. Geheftet 40 Mk., in Leder gebunden 46 Mk. Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann (Vormals J. Ricker). Gieszen, 1906.

On the second of March Professor Theodor Nöldeke, in Strassburg, Alsace-Lorraine, one of the greatest orientalists of the age, whose name is mentioned with equal reverence on both hemispheres, and who is still in bodily and mental vigor, celebrated his seventieth birthday. This was the occasion of the publication of this work.

Nöldeke was born on the second of March, 1836, in Harburg, Hannover, studied oriental languages in Göttingen (under Ewald and Benfey), also in Vienna, Leiden, and Berlin. In 1861 he acquired the right of holding academical lectures in the University of Göttingen. In 1864 he was appointed professor extraordinarius there, and in 1868 professor ordinarius in Kiel. Since 1872 he is in connection with the University of Strassburg as professor of Semitic philology. His first publication, which appeared first in Latin and then a year later in German, in 1860, under the title, "Die Geschichte des Qorâns," won for him the prize of the Academy of Sciences at Paris over his competitors Muir, an Englishman, and Sprenger, an Austrian, who wrote on the same subject. From this moment Nöldeke belongs to the most productive and authoritative orientalists.

Nöldeke's prolific literary activity extends over widely different departments of Semitic philology and history and often passes beyond into the Indogermanic field (Iranian). His works on Arabic poetry and Semitic grammar (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber, Urwa, Delectus, Muallakat,* etc.; *Zur Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch, Beiträge zur semitischen*

Sprachwissenschaft, etc.) are as valuable as his contributions to Old Testament science (*Die alttestamentliche Litteratur, Untersuchungen zur Kritik des alten Testaments,* etc.) and as his studies in Persian history and on the Shahnamah ("Book of Kings") of Firdousí, the national epic of the Persians. Nöldeke devoted himself, however, more especially to the study of the Aramaic languages, and his grammars of the Syriac, Neo-Syriac, and Mandaic are the best works that have appeared on these languages.

Nöldeke is not only a prolific author, an accurate philologist, and thorough linguist, but equally as prominent and as great, if not greater, as a keen critic and an acute historian. His "Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sassaniden" (1879) is a standard and classical work.

Nöldeke reads everything that appears in his department or related departments of knowledge, and criticizes it either publicly or through an extensive correspondence. Though Nöldeke in his modesty constantly disclaims the right to speak with authority on matters pertaining to the young science of Assyriology, nevertheless, Assyriologists consider themselves fortunate when they can receive his judgment on some moot point in their science.

The writer of these lines first became acquainted with Nöldeke through his "Semitic Languages"; he was directed by his teacher, Dr. Gast, to this classic as the best brief, yet comprehensive survey of the Semitic languages that has ever appeared. Some years later it was the writer's privilege as a student of Nöldeke's, in the University of Strassburg, to meet with this man and scholar almost daily for a number of semesters in his study along the charming and picturesque Ill.

"Orientalische Studien" is a significant and an abiding memorial erected by friends and students who in their intimate intercourse with Theodor Nöldeke learned to admire his comprehensive and exact detailed scholarship, as well as his earnest, yet jovial personality.

A glance at the list of contributors to this work shows the international character of Nöldeke's students. The following countries are represented in this list: Germany, Russia, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, France, England, Holland, Sweden, Finland, Portugal, Algeria, Syria, and the United States of America. In addition the inhabitants of the isles afar off (Java) have likewise on this occasion arisen to do honor to this great scholar. Most of the positions in Semitic philology in German-speaking countries, if not also in English-speaking countries, are held by men who were at one time or other students of Nöldeke.

The work is prefaced by the great Dutch Arabist, M. J. De Goeje. who also contributes the interesting opening essay on the call of Mohammed. In addressing Nöldeke in the preface to the work De Goeje says:

"Auf dem grossen Gebiete der Semitischen Philologie im weitesten Sinne, von welchem die meisten von uns nur einen Bruchteil beherrschen, sind Sie unumschränkter Meister; ja, Sie haben die Grenzen dieses Wissenreichs nach verschiedenen Seiten weit überschritten."

The subjects discussed in this work by the eighty-six contributors, who were selected from the large circle of Nöldeke's students and friends, are not only taken from the extensive field of Semitic research, but also from the field of Oriental research outside the Semitic, and may be taken to indicate, in a measure, the extensiveness of the field of knowledge mastered by Nöldeke. The Hebraist, the Arabist, the Syriologist, the Assyriologist, the student of Ethiopic, the Egyptologist, the student of the Iranian and Turkish languages and literatures, the classical philologist, the student of the Old Testament, the student of early church history, the student of Islam—all these, as well as others, will find discussed in this work subjects pertaining to their particular department of knowledge. I have used the volumes for about four weeks, and have learned much from them so far. They are a veritable mine of oriental lore.

The work also contains a list of the writings of Nöldeke, compiled by Ernst Kuhn. This list fills thirty-eight pages, and from it even the layman may form a somewhat adequate idea of the great fertility and the remarkable versatility of the famous scholar.

The valuable indices of the work were prepared by C. Bezold. The printing was done by W. Drugulin in Leipzig, the mere statement of which is a sufficient guaranty that it is neatly and well done. From the bookbinder's standpoint the work is also a thing of beauty.

At the conclusion of this notice the fact may be mentioned, that at the close of the winter semester Nöldeke retired from his professorship in the University of Strassburg, and was succeeded by a former student of his, Enno Littmann, who was at the time holding a position in Princeton University.

U. of C., May 25, 1906. IRWIN HOCH DE LONG.

THE CRITICISM OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL, Eight lectures on the Morse Foundation, delivered in Union Seminary, N. Y., in October and November, 1904. By William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, Publishers, pp. 286.

Among the "open questions" of New Testament criticism, the Johannine problem is at present most vital and important.

This volume of Dr. Sanday is one of the recent significant contributions to the subject from the conservative point of view. The first chapter is a suggestive "survey of the recent literature" on the subject and in itself is an illumination of the problem. The "conservative" point of view is best represented by Zahn, B. Weiss, Beyschlag, Luthardt, Godet, Wescott, and Drummond; the "mediating," by Harnack, Shürer, Delff, and Dobschütz; the "partition," by Wendt and Briggs; the view of "uncompromising rejection," by Jülicher, Holtzmann, Schmiedel, Wrede, Wernle, Reveille, and Loisy.

Of the two hundred and sixty-eight pages Dr. Sanday gives but fourteen to the consideration of the external evidence for the integrity and authenticity of the Gospel in question. In this respect his treatment is conspicuously unsatisfactory. He practically surrenders the Gospel on the external evidence but emphatically claims it on the ground of the internal. Indeed, he seems so certain of his case after giving the latter evidence, as to make it seem a matter of course that, despite the weakness of the former, the full authenticity of the Gospel be acknowledged. Those interested in this important New Testament problem should read Dr. Drummond's "Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," for the reason that he makes most of the external evidence. Together, Drs. Sanday and Drummond, present the conservative point of view better than any single one of our English defenders.

It is characteristic of Dr. Sanday's treatment that he returns to the outlines of the oldest solution of the problem, as given by Eusebius, who summarizes the "Hypotyposes" of Clement of Alexandria: (1) "The Gospel is the work of St. John the Apostle —for there is no doubt that he is intended. (2) It was written towards the end of his life, after the publication of the other three. (3) The three Gospels were in the hand of the Apostle, and he had read and up to a certain point approved of them. (4) What he himself undertook to write was a spiritual Gospel, not a biography; the difference is important. (5) In contrast with the other Gospels it was recognized as being in a special sense a spiritual Gospel." This method of approach is along the lines of the internal evidence and the opposite of that of most critical scholars on the Continent who emphasize the external evidence and on the basis of which, largely on the "argument of silence," declare against the authenticity of the Gospel.

The detailed development of the internal evidence in chapters IV.–V. inclusive is full of interest and suggestion. We know no stronger presentation of the case. It centers around the claim that the Gospel is by an eye-witness. The "pragmatism" of the

Gospel, in touching on the pilgrimages, Jewish ceremonies, the Temple, sects and parties, Jewish ideas and dialectics, and the Messianic hope, clearly shows the intimate knowledge of a Jew and an eye-witness. This phase of the internal evidence outweighs the difficulties of the differences of this Gospel and the synoptists in placing the main scenes of the work of Jesus, the duration of the ministry, the placing of the cleansing of the Temple, the beginning of the ministry of Jesus, the date of the Lord's supper and the crucifixion. These difficulties are fairly presented and met. In like manner the charge that the Gospel lacks development in the narrative is accounted for in a very suggestive way by emphasizing the fact that the purpose of the writer is not a biography but a spiritual Gospel.

For a fine outline-view of the doctrine of the Logos and its influence upon the Gospel chapter VI. is very good. Here, as in the elaborate treatment of the internal evidence throughout, Dr. Sanday is strong in his emphasis of the historical element in the Johannine idea of the Logos. The Gospel ever centers in the experimental and historical. The content of the Logos doctrine finds its beginnings in the Old Testament rather than in Philo and its fulness in the historic Jesus, no matter if the formal expression may have been taken from current Alexandrian ideas. This leads into the discussion of the Christology of the Gospel in chapter VII. During these days it is necessary to get clear views of tendencies. With reference to the tendency which emphasizes the development of the New Testament literature and theology, and overestimates the synoptic gospels as purely historical and the genius of Paul in adding to the simple Gospel of Jesus, and makes the Johannine Christology, the cap-stone of the adding process, Dr. Sanday may be said to state it fairly and meet it squarely, especially in the claim that the confession of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, was the common ground and experience of all Christians. It grew out of the unity of the consciousness of the first Christian community. This may well be emphasized with good results in these days when we are prone to differentiate the several points of view as Petrine, Pauline, Johannine, etc., and accentuate the differences, forgetting the real unities which underlie them and show them to spring naturally out of the consciousness of the first Christian community.

The treatment of the external evidence is altogether too brief and unsatisfactory. The unsolved problems are barely suggested. One wishes for the vigorous handling of Drummond or Zahn to make a conservative statement of the case complete.

EDWARD L. BROMER.

THE ORIGIN AND PERMANENT VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. Pages 270. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

This is a readable volume giving in popular form the results of the constructive higher criticism.

In the opening chapter the author shows that until two centuries after the Reformation the Old Testament was valued as highly by the Church as the New, but that it lost this position through the reaction caused by its misinterpretation on the part of the Puritans, through the suspicion awakened by the first results of higher criticism, and the difficulty of understanding it. It is, however, rapidly regaining its former position. Through the testimony of the monuments, the study of languages, geography, history and by allowing the Old Testament to speak for itself it has been cleared of rabbinical and Middle Age traditions and become a new book.

In discussing the nature of the Old Testament the author says that at the foundation of it is a vital union between Jehovah and his people. Through them he reveals his character and will in the terms of life. Of this the Old Testament is a record. We know that it is inspired because it inspires. The spirit of the Almighty touched the spirit of certain men in ancient Israel so that they became prophets and seers, their vision being clarified so that they were able to discern God's revelation of himself. The purpose which these writers had in mind in committing to writing the revelations which they had received was the ethical and religious development of the people. The revelation of God recorded in the Old Testament was not confined to the Israelites, but to the whole human race. Man has probably been in existence a hundred thousand years. God did not leave him without a revelation of himself, but in discerning this revelation mankind saw through a "glass darkly." The Hebrews for various reasons were chosen as the nation through whom God would give a revelation of himself to mankind. They through their inspired prophets sifted from the revelation God had made to earlier nations, especially the Babylonians, what was true and enlarged upon it for the perfection of which Christ came.

The body of the book is devoted to an account of the origin of the several kinds of literature found in the Old Testament.

The origin of the prophetic histories is first explained. The period covered by them is from the creation through Samuel. The material incorporated into these histories is derived from certain early literature, such as "The Book of the Upright," "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah," and "The Blessings of Jacob," and from numerous oral traditions of heroes and events,

some of which came from the Babylonians. About the end of the ninth century B. C. a Judean prophet or school of prophets wrote the first history drawn from these various sources and covering the period from the creation through Samuel. About the middle of the eighth century a Northern prophet wrote the same kind of history from his point of view, extending from Abraham to Samuel. Later a history covering the period from the sojourn in the wilderness to the conquest of East Jordan appeared. Some time after 722 B. C. a prophet or school of prophets combined these two histories, supplementing what they contained. They were combined just as in New Testament times Tatian combined the Gospels in his diatessaron. In the case of the New Testament the combination passed out of use and the separate Gospels took its place. In the Old Testament the combined history survived and the separate histories were lost. The third narrative mentioned above was incorporated later and the history carried on to the Babylonian captivity in Kings. The purpose of these histories was to teach religious truth and eliminate the immoral from the oral traditions.

The origin of the prophetic sermons, epistles and apocalypses is next explained. The prophets knew the needs of their times. They knew the will of God and were his spokesmen. Sometimes they wrote their addresses. In other cases they were written down by their hearers. These prophetic books bear the marks of editors' work. Sometimes, as in the latter half of Isaiah, these additions have a distinct value of their own. Frequently they are the adaptation of the teachings of the prophets to later times. The period covered by the writings of the prophets is from 750 B. C. to 165 B. C., Daniel's prophecy being assigned to this latter period. These are the oldest writings of the Old Testament and correspond to the epistles of the New.

The following chapters give an account of the origin of the earlier Old Testament laws and the priestly laws. The prophet was before the law-giver. The prophet enunciated the principle which was later worked out into laws. God put his principles into the growing ethical consciousness of his people and they elaborated them into laws. Moses as a prophet gave principles, as a judge rendered decisions, that is, made laws, and as an organizer put them into the institutions which he formed. This was the nucleus of the whole legal system which came later. The laws were first handed down orally. The primitive code grew up from 1200 to 800 B. C. In their nature they were ceremonial, civil and humane.

From 800 to 600 B. C., through the prophets Isaiah, Hosea, and Micah, new principles were enunciated which gave rise to new laws of a more spiritual and ethical character. They incor-

porated what was best in the primitive code. They are found in Deuteronomy.

The priestly laws sprang up during the exile from 600 to 400 B. C. They are found in Exodus and Leviticus. There were also priestly historians whose narratives serve as introductions to their laws and are found in the Pentateuch, where they, with the laws, were placed after 400 B. C. About 250 B. C. a priest wrote I. and II. Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah. Their history is inferior to the prophetic narratives.

In the same natural way is explained the growth of the wisdom literature, the philosophical writings and the Psalter. The Proverbs are the sayings of the sages. They were the embodiment of experimental wisdom. They were collected from many ages. Solomon may be the author of a few. The oldest collection (chapters 10 to 22) bears the marks of the age of the preexilic prophets. The psalms spring from perhaps a hundred different authors. The oldest collection (3 to 41 and 51 to 72) was gathered not later than 400 B. C. The psalms have the marks of preëxilic times and of later times to 165 B. C. David may have written some.

The canonization of the Hexateuch took place about 350 B. C. and that of the prophets about 200 B. C. The canonization of the sacred writings was not completed until 100 A. D.

The concluding chapters deal with the interpretation of the early narratives and practical methods of studying the Old Testament. The last chapter is a strong plea for better religious education which the author regards as the fundamental problem of the day.

As is well known, there is a large class of Christian scholars who dissent from the general position of the author. But whether a person occupies his position or not, one will be greatly benefitted by the study of this volume. The best that we can do is to acquaint ourselves with the literature on both sides of the question if we wish to come to an intelligent conclusion. The author shows in this volume that the Old Testament came into existence much as the New. This is one of the strong points in the book and will go far to commend his views to students. The writer declares that if Ingersoll had been educated to look upon the Pentateuch as a composite work his lecture on "The Mistakes of Moses" would have been impossible. W. D. Happel.

The Christian Doctrine of Salvation. By George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. Pages xii + 546. The International Theological Library. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. Price $2.50.

This volume is reviewed at length in article VI. of the present issue.

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PROSPECTUS

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The REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW is the lineal successor of the REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW, as that was of the MERCERSBURG REVIEW. And, true to its antecedents, it will continue to be an organ for Christological, historical and positive theology, as this has come to be generally understood in the Reformed Church in the United States. Taking its position in the confessional system of the Heidelberg Catechism, it will endeavor to be true to the historical genius of the Reformed Church; but believing in the principle of historical development, it will not shut itself up to the horizon of any particular place or time in theology, but will have an open vision and a cordial welcome for all truth, new as well as old, from whatever quarter it may come.

The REVIEW will strive to be truly catholic and liberal in spirit. It proposes to serve the cause of pure truth and of pure religion. It will, therefore, not be bound by any party lines. But seeking to serve and promote the truth as it is in Christ, it will endeavor to keep itself free from all forms of theological bondage. Freedom of thought within the limits of Christian truth will ever be its watchword. Hence it retains the old motto, only in a more complete form: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

But while the REVIEW will serve chiefly as an organ for the advancement of theological learning, it will by no means exclude from its pages articles on other and more general subjects. It recognizes the truth that to Christianity, and, therefore, also to theology, nothing that is human is foreign. Natural science, philosophy, literature, ethics, sociology and kindred branches of knowledge, are at present engaging wide and earnest attention; and articles along these lines, written in the spirit of this REVIEW, are, accordingly, invited for its pages.

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